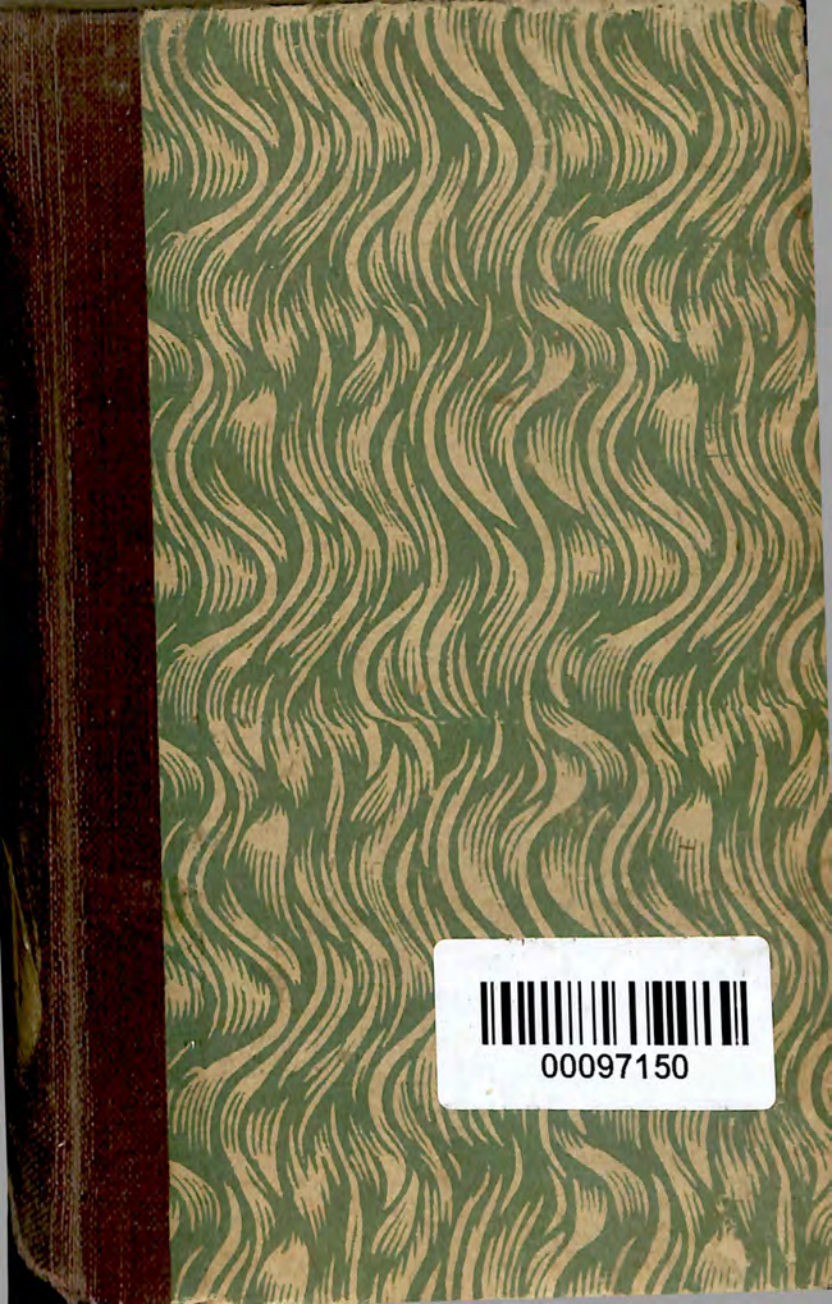

00097150

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016

FRIENDS IN COUNCIL:

A SERIES OF READINGS AND DISCOURSE THEREON

97150

BOOK THE SECOND

NN a 2

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1849

0c1
H.
97150

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

READING . . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER II.

On giving and taking Criticism 25

CHAPTER III.

On the Art of Living 55

CHAPTER IV.

Improvement of the Condition of the Rural Poor . . . 89

CHAPTER V.

Government 129

SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

SLAVERY 183

1. That Slavery is cruel 194

CHAPTER II.

Page

2. That Slavery is needleſs 237

3. That Slavery is unauthorized 256

CHAPTER III.

4. That Slavery is miſchievous to the Maſter as well as to the Slave 273

CHAPTER IV.

5. That there are no Races in Reſpect to which the preceding Propoſitions againſt Slavery do not apply . . 282

CHAPTER V.

6. That Slavery can be done away 335

CHAPTER I.

I AM again enabled to give ſome account of the readings and converſations at Worth Aſhton during another ſummer.

I need not ſay much in the way of introduction, having before deſcribed our friendly council and the place of our meeting. There was but little alteration in the latter, except that Milverton had put up a ſun-dial in the centre of the lawn, with the motto, "*Horas non numero niſi ſerenas*," which, I remember, gave occaſion to Elleſmere to ſay, that for men the dial was either totally uſeleſs or utterly falſe. The only change about us was, that the animal part of our audience had greatly increaſed; for Milverton took much pleaſure in obſerving the ways of animals, and Elleſ-

mere, like ſome other great lawyers of paſt and preſent days, was very fond of live creatures of all kinds,—men, women, and children excepted, as I uſed to tell him. The moſt extraordinary packages marked "with great care" and given into the eſpecial cuſtody of railway guards, uſed to come down from time to time, containing purchaſes made by Elleſmere at Hungerford market in his walks home from Weſtminſter to his chambers. There was a Newfoundland puppy of remarkable ſagacity, which already had the upper hand of Rollo; then there were pigeons, guinea-pigs, a jackdaw, and a gorgeous peacock that took his ſtation on the low wall bounding the lawn and diſplayed his imperial ſelf to the admiration of all beholders. There were curious fowls of various kinds, and laſt, though not the leaſt favoured, a hedgehog which Elleſmere had ſent (as if we could not find plenty of them in the country) and which he called "his learned friend," and the reſt of the family called Snoozelem. Milverton received all theſe preſents with wonderful equanimity; and Elleſmere thus emboldened, was now threatening to ſend down a raven whenever he could meet with one of ſufficient intelligence to be worthy of the party.

The human part of our friendly council ſeemed to me more worn and altered than one expects to find people in the courſe of a year. At leaſt I thought ſo of the young men; (young men I am always calling them, though I ſuppoſe nobody elſe would) and I found afterwards that they thought the ſame of me. The winter of 1846 and the ſpring of 1847 will long be remembered. The famine in Ireland and the diſtreſs here, had preſſed on the minds of all men who had to deal with it or to think about it, either publicly or privately. In our own diſtrict, we had ſuffered much privation in a quiet way, and the whole minds of thoſe who could do ſo, had been given to meet it. It was the ſame, I ſuppoſe, with moſt people who had either property, or office of any kind, lay or clerical, bringing upon them the additional reſponſibility which ſuch times induce. The general diſtreſs and difficulty had, I ſuſpect, weighed much even upon Elleſmere, though if you had aſked him the queſtion, he would have declared that he neither reſpected, liked, nor cared for, the public; and that he left all ſuch notions to demagogues and philanthropiſts, vowing that he belonged as little to the one of theſe claſſes as to the other.

Our firſt meeting was on a fine afternoon (a Saturday) exactly at the old place on the lawn where we had broken up our laſt friendly council of the preceding year. It was the firſt day this ſummer that Elleſmere had been able to come, and Milverton had taken care to give me due notice of our friend's coming. I found them already ſeated. Elleſmere really looked pleaſed to ſee me.

Ellesmere. Well, my dear Dunsford, I hope you are glad to ſee me again, and that you will give me better welcome than you have counſelled Milverton, I hear, to give to ſome of the creatures with which I have enriched his lawn and farm-yard, and enlivened your country dulneſs. Love me, not only love my dog, but my pig, my guinea-pig that is to ſay, my pigeons, and my hedgehog. A London pigeon is very good ſociety for you country people: it could tell you a great deal, perhaps, about the prices of ſtock it had carried at various times, or the way of living at St. Giles's. I have a great mind to chooſe ſome nice animals for your place —a couple of young wolves now would do charmingly for the vicarage.

Dunsford. No, come yourſelf, and bring the w[illegible] of your bar with you inſtead: I had rather take [illegible] chance of that than of the animals you would be [illegible] enough to provide for me.

Ellesmere. Well, well, I will be merciful if y[illegible]

promiſe not to prejudice Milverton againſt my pets. But we muſt not talk any more juſt now. Let us have our reading. I muſt be off at ſix o'clock on Monday, ſo we muſt have the reading this afternoon. Now, Milverton, what is it to be? Something, I ſuppoſe, as novel and refreſhing as your firſt eſſay of laſt ſummer. There is no end to your audacity in the choice of hacknied ſubjects. I think you take a pride in it.

MILVERTON. No, indeed; but they do not appear hacknied to me. However, I am not going to inflict any hacknied ſubject upon you now. It is to be an eſſay on Reading. I will begin at once.

Hereupon Milverton read to us the following eſſay.

READING.

AS the world grows older and as civilization advances, there is likely to be more and more time given to reading. In ſeveral parts of the earth where mankind are moſt active, and where the proportion of thoſe who need to labour by their hands is leſs than in other countries, and likely to go on becoming leſs, the climate is ſuch as to confine, if it does not repreſs, out-of-door amuſements: and, in all climates, for the lovers of eaſe, the delicate in

health, the reſerved, the faſtidious and the muſing, books are amongſt the chief ſources of delight, and ſuch as will more probably intrench upon other joys and occupations than give way to them.

Notwithſtanding this, the ethics of ſtudy, if I may uſe ſuch a phraſe, have been little conſidered; and thoſe purſuits over which we might have more efficient control than moſt others, are left to chance as regards their origin, their conduct and their end.

It appears to me remarkable that this ſubject ſhould have been ſo little touched upon. Other ſubjects which are akin to it, but yet very different, have been largely inveſtigated. But you will not find in treatiſes upon education, upon profeſſions, or upon general knowledge of life, any connected conſiderations with regard to the ethics and methods of private ſtudy. Bacon's "Advancement of learning" is treated as a book belonging to the learned; and, beſides, it deals with univerſals rather than with particulars; indicates the ſluggiſhneſs, the hindrances, and the courſe, of the main rivers of knowledge; not buſying itſelf with the local fortunes of ſmall ſtreams, retired rivulets and quiet pools, without which, however, theſe main rivers would float down no argoſies towards the ſea of time.

Gibbon ſays, " After a certain age, the new publications of merit are the ſole food of the many." A ſarcaſtic perſon would perhaps remark, that the words "of merit" might be omitted without injury to the truth of the ſentence. But that would be too ſevere ; for the publications of merit do moſtly obtain ſome hearing in their own day, though a very diſproportionate one to what they ſhould have ; as it is exceedingly difficult, even for highly-cultivated perſons, to make good ſelection of the naſcent fruits and flowers of literature amidſt the rank herbage of the day.

Before entering upon the mode of managing ſtudy ; or perhaps I ought to uſe the word reading, inſtead of ſtudy, (for it would be quite wrong to ſuppoſe that the following remarks apply to profeſſed ſtudents only) it would be well to ſee what does really happen in life as regards the intellectual cultivation of moſt grown-up people. I aſk them, Is it not mainly dependent upon chance ? The profeſſional man, wearied with the cares and labours of his office or employment, when he comes home, takes up whatever book may happen to be the reading of his wife, or mother, or daughters : and they, for women are often educated in a way to avoid method and intellectual ſtrength of any kind, are probably

contented with what the circulating library affords, and read according to the mereſt rumour and faſhion of the preſent hour. Again, what is called light literature (how it has obtained or maintained that name is ſurpriſing) criticiſms, ſcraps, tales, and the like, is nearly the ſole intellectual food of many intelligent perſons. Now, without undervaluing this kind of literature, which improved as it would be if addreſſed to a claſs of perſons who were wont to read with wiſdom and method, would be very ſerviceable to thoſe perſons; we cannot ſay but that to make ſuch literature the ſtaple of the mind is unworthy and frivolous in the extreme.

I believe, however, that many perſons are aware how indifferently they are ſpending their time in the way they read at preſent; and I ſhall not labour any more at this part of the ſubject, but come at once to what appears to me the remedy for the evil: which is, that every man and every woman who can read at all, ſhould adopt ſome definite purpoſe in their reading—ſhould take ſomething for the main ſtem and trunk of their culture, whence branches might grow out in all directions ſeeking light and air for the parent tree which, it is hoped, might end in be-

coming ſomething uſeful and ornamental, and which, at any rate, all along, will have had life and growth in it.

I do not think that this is too great a taſk for the humbleſt reader. At the ſame time I am not prepared to ſhow how this purpoſe may be ſecured in all caſes, which muſt be left to diſpoſition, to what we call chance, to peculiar facilities of any kind afforded to the reader in any one direction. It is ſo in the choice of a career in life, which is not always determined by a rigid and wiſe choice, made at once and fully perſevered in; but, on the contrary, there may be many falſe ſtarts and, occaſionally, abrupt changes; ſtill there is ſuch a thing for each man as a career which might be purſued with ſome method by him, and which would lead to what is called worldly ſucceſs. So, in reading, it would be folly to attempt to lay down ſome proceſs by which every man might enſure a main courſe of ſtudy for himſelf; but only let him have a juſt fear of deſultory purſuits, and a wiſh for mental cultivation, and he may hope at ſome time or other to diſcern what it is fitteſt for him to do. And if he does not, but purſues anything with method, there will be ſome reward for him, if not the higheſt.

If we conſider what are the objects men purſue, when conſcious of any object at all, in reading, they are theſe: amuſement, inſtruction, a wiſh to appear well in ſociety, and a deſire to paſs away time. Now even the loweſt of theſe objects is facilitated by reading with method. The keenneſs of purſuit thus engendered enriches the moſt trifling gain, takes away the ſenſe of dulneſs in details, and gives an intereſt to what would, otherwiſe, be moſt repugnant. No one who has never known the eager joy of ſome intellectual purſuit, can underſtand the full pleaſure of reading.

In conſidering the preſent ſubject, the advantage to the world in general, of many perſons being really verſed in various ſubjects cannot be paſſed by. And were reading wiſely undertaken, much more method and order would be applied to the conſideration of the immediate buſineſs of the world; and there would be men who might form ſomething of a wiſe public with regard to the current queſtions of the day, ſuch as railways, politics, finance, and the condition of Ireland.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that this choice and

maintenance of one or more ſubjects of ſtudy muſt neceſſarily lead to pedantry or narrowneſs of mind. The Arts are ſiſters; Languages are cloſe kindred; Sciences are fellow workmen: almoſt every branch of human knowledge is immediately connected with biography; biography falls into hiſtory which, after drawing into itſelf various minor ſtreams, ſuch as geography, juriſprudence, political and ſocial economy, iſſues forth upon the ſtill deeper waters of general philoſophy. There are very few, if any, vacant ſpaces between various kinds of knowledge: any track in the foreſt, ſteadfaſtly purſued, leads into one of the great highways; juſt as you often find, in conſidering the ſtory of any little iſland, that you are perpetually brought back into the general hiſtory of the world, and that this ſmall rocky place has partaken the fate of mighty thrones and diſtant empires. In ſhort, all things are ſo connected together, that a man who knows one ſubject well, cannot, if he would, fail to have acquired much beſides: and that man will not be likely to keep fewer pearls who has a ſtring to put them on, than he who picks them up and throws them together without method. This, however, is a very poor metaphor to re-

preſent the matter; for what I would aim at producing, not merely holds together what is gained, but has vitality in itſelf, is always growing. And anybody will confirm this, who, in his own caſe, has had any branch of ſtudy or human affairs to work upon; for he muſt have obſerved how all he meets ſeems to work in with, and aſſimilate itſelf to, his own peculiar ſubject. During his lonely walks, or in ſociety, or in action, it ſeems as if this one purſuit were ſomething almoſt independent of himſelf, always on the watch, and claiming its ſhare in whatever is going on.

Again, by recommending ſome choice of ſubject and method in the purſuit of it, I do not wiſh to be held to a narrow interpretation of that word "ſubject." For example, I can imagine a man ſaying, I do not care particularly to inveſtigate this or that queſtion in hiſtory; I am not going to purſue any branch of ſcience; but I have a deſire to know what the moſt renowned men have written: I will ſee what the twenty or thirty great poets have ſaid; what in various ages has appeared the beſt expreſſion of the things neareſt to the heart and fancy of man. A perſon of more adventure and more time might ſeek to

include the greateſt writers in morals or hiſtory. There are not ſo many of them. If a man were to read a hundred great authors, he would, I ſuſpect, have heard what mankind has yet had to ſay upon moſt things. I am aware of the culture that would be required for ſuch an enterprize; but I merely give it as an inſtance of what may juſtly come under the head of the purſuit of one ſubject, as I mean it, and which certainly would not be called a narrow purpoſe.

There is another view of reading which though it is obvious enough, is ſeldom taken, I imagine, or at leaſt acted upon; and that is, that in the courſe of our reading we ſhould lay up in our minds a ſtore of goodly thoughts in well-wrought words, which ſhould be a living treaſure of knowledge always with us, and from which, at various times and amidſt all the ſhifting of circumſtances, we might be ſure of drawing ſome comfort, guidance and ſympathy. We ſee this with regard to the ſacred writings. "A word ſpoken in due ſeaſon, how good is it!" But there is a ſimilar comfort on a lower level to be obtained from other ſources than ſacred ones. In any work that is worth carefully reading, there is generally ſome-

thing that is worth remembering accurately. A man whoſe mind is enriched with the beſt ſayings of the poets of his own country, is a more independent man, walks the ſtreets in a town, or the lanes in the country, with far more delight than he otherwiſe would have; and is taught by wiſe obſervers of man and nature, to examine for himſelf. Sancho Panza with his proverbs is a great deal better than he would have been without them: and I contend that a man has ſomething in himſelf to meet troubles and difficulties, ſmall or great, who has ſtored in his mind ſome of the beſt things which have been ſaid about troubles and difficulties. Moreover, the lonelineſs of ſorrow is thereby diminiſhed.

It need not be feared that a man whoſe memory is rich in ſuch reſources, will become a quoting pedant. Often, the ſayings which are deareſt to our hearts, are leaſt frequent on our lips; and thoſe great ideas which cheer men in their direſt ſtruggles, are not things which they are likely to inflict by frequent repetition upon thoſe they live with. There is a certain reticence with us as regards anything we deeply love.

I have not hitherto ſpoken of the indirect advantage of methodical reading in the culture of

the mind. One of the dangers ſuppoſed to be incident upon a life of ſtudy is, that purpoſe and deciſiveneſs are worn away. Not, as I contend, upon a life of ſtudy, ſuch as it ought to be. For purſued methodically there muſt be ſome, and not a little, of the deciſion, reſiſtance and tenacity of purſuit which create, or further, greatneſs of character in action. Though, as I have ſaid, there are times of keen delight to a man who is engaged in any diſtinct purſuit, there are alſo moments of wearineſs, vexation, and vacillation, which will try the metal in him and ſee whether he is worthy to underſtand and maſter anything. For this you may obſerve, that in all times and all nations, ſacrifice is needed. The ſavage Indian who was to obtain any inſight into the future, had to ſtarve for it for a certain time. Even the fancy of this power was not to be gained without paying for it. And was any thing real ever gained without ſacrifice of ſome kind?

There is a very refined uſe which reading might be put to; namely, to counteract the particular evils and temptations of our callings, the original imperfections of our characters, the tendencies of our age, or of our own time of life.

Thoſe, for inſtance, who are verſed in dull crabbed work all day, of a kind which is always exerciſing the logical faculty and demanding minute, not to ſay, vexatious criticiſm, would, during their leiſure, do wiſely to expatiate in writings of a large and imaginative nature. Theſe, however, are often the perſons who particularly avoid poetry and works of imagination, whereas they ought, perhaps, to cultivate them moſt. For it ſhould be one of the frequent objects of every man who cares for the culture of his whole being, to give ſome exerciſe to thoſe faculties which are not demanded by his daily occupations and not encouraged by his diſpoſition.

Hitherto, the inducements I have brought forward for more fixedneſs of purſuit and ſoundneſs of method in reading, have been, many of them, comparatively ſpeaking, worldly and ſlight ones. But there are others, which if well conſidered, might alone ſuffice to change at once any habit of thoughtleſs and purpoſeleſs reading. We ſuppoſe that we carry our moral nature to another world; why not our intellectual nature;—further, why not our acquirements? Is it probable that a man who has ſcorned here all advantages for commune with the works of God, is at once to

be enlightened as if he had done his duty to the intelligence within him or about him? It may be noticed that, as far as we can diſcern, the ſame phyſical laws govern the moſt diſtant parts of creation, as thoſe which prevail here. Moreover, what we call Nature, or Providence, is thrifty as well as liberal—has apparently given to man no more faculty than he fully needs. May not a ſimilar divine frugality—perhaps an eſſential element for the furtherance of life and the developement of energy pervade creation? Theſe, however, are very ſerious topics; and I am afraid of being preſumptuous in talking about them. But we muſt remember that there may be preſumption in making too little, as well as in making too much, of knowledge. Added to which, and here I am in much leſs fear of what I ſay, I have no doubt that ſound intellectual culture is in brotherhood with the beſt moral culture. Accuracy, for inſtance, is the proſe of truth. And there is a humility which is one of the beſt things for the mind as well as the ſoul of man; and may come through either inlet.

At any rate we cannot be wrong, whether we are profeſſed ſtudents, or ſoldiers, or men of the world, or whatever we are, in endeavouring to

make the time we give to books a time not ſpent unprofitably to ourſelves and our fellow-creatures; and this will never be the caſe, if we are the victims of chance in what we take up to read; if we vacillate for ever in our ſtudies, or if we never look for any thing in them, but the eaſe of the preſent moment, or the gratification of getting rid of it inſenſibly.

ELLESMERE. I like that Eſſay.

DUNSFORD. So do I.

MILVERTON. I knew you would, becauſe you have no need of the advice given in it, both of you being careful readers, and choice in what you read. Indeed Elleſmere carries this to an exceſs, and ſo miſſes reading ſome of the beſt works of the day.

ELLESMERE. Yes, but what traſh have I not avoided reading? How many works have I eſcaped the knowledge of, which you would give a great deal to forget? And at leaſt, Milverton, I always read my friends' books, whether they are treatiſes on labour, tragedies, or the denſeſt political economy.

But to paſs from me and my doings to the ſubject before us. The moſt important part of it to my mind is one which you have but lightly alluded to: I mean the

advantage which would arise, if the common affairs of the world were studied methodically. As it is, men read a clever article in a newspaper or review, or enter into an animated conversation about some common topic of the day, and then they wait for another clever article or review, or another chance conversation, not bringing any study to bear upon the subject meanwhile. Hence opinions on public affairs are formed by chance; and statesmen and legislators have a much less enlightened public to appeal to than they might have.

MILVERTON. Very true: and a much less enlightened circle to choose their official men from. An improvement, however, in this respect, is but one of the advantages which would arise from more methodical reading. If there were even but a small part of the public that cared for its own education, many of the works of history which have been addressed to the world, would never have been written so carelessly, or would at once have been found out.

DUNSFORD. Then again, in science, the result of anything like methodical reading amongst a large number of persons might carry us forward with greatly accelerated rapidity.

When you mention the serious considerations, Milverton, which might induce more wisdom in reading, you should not omit to point out that each man has but a certain limited portion of time and energy in this world; and surely the knowledge of this fact ought to make us careful in what we give our attention to. We cannot afford to throw it away.

MILVERTON. Men ſeldom feel as if they were bounded as to time; they think they can afford to throw away a great deal of that commodity, thus ſhowing unconſciouſly even in their trifling the ſenſe that they have of their immortality.

ELLESMERE. There is one thing, Milverton, you ſeem to me to have omitted entirely; namely, that this methodical reading you recommend would enſure ſome digeſtion of what is read—would neceſſitate ſome thinking. You recollect what Hobbes uſed to ſay "that if he had "read as many books as other men, he ſhould have been "as ignorant as they," clearly implying that reading is ſometimes an ingenious device for avoiding thought.

MILVERTON. Well, I think you might have inferred as much from my Eſſay.

DUNSFORD. You are quite right, Milverton, in ſuggeſting that we ſhould commit to memory ſome part of what we like in reading. Now, this very day, as I was coming acroſs the common, perhaps it was that I walked with more difficulty than uſual, I bethought me that I was rapidly deſcending into old age, and the thought was not a pleaſant one. It ſet me, however, about thinking of Cicero's "De Senectute," and then to repeating large portions of that beautiful and comforting treatiſe, not failing at the ſame time to remember what might have been added by a Chriſtian. Before I reached your houſe I had forgotten my own little trouble about old age, and was deep in Cicero.

ELLESMERE. You ſee alſo, Milverton, that another of your theories holds good in this caſe, for Dunsford

does not attempt to quote upon us his paſſages of Cicero, whether from the paſſages being too dear to him to quote, or that he believes, in which he would not be far out, that ſome of us would be unable to conſtrue them, I leave you to gueſs.

MILVERTON. Do not you both agree with me in this part where I ſay, that when a man has ſome object in ſtudy, all things ſeem to fall in with it?

ELLESMERE. Yes, they do wonderfully.

MILVERTON. I found a curious inſtance of that the other day. It is in the Manuſcripts of Las Caſas in which, giving an account of his converſion to the cauſe of the Indians, he ſays of himſelf, "From the firſt hour that he "(Las Caſas) began to diſpel the clouds of that igno- "rance (his former opinion in favour of Indian ſlavery) "he never read in Latin or Spaniſh any book, and the "books that he read in 44 years were infinite in num- "ber, in which he did not find either reaſon or autho- "rity to prove and corroborate the juſtice which thoſe "Indian nations had on their ſide, and to condemn the "injuſtice and evils and injuries which have been done "to them."* I copied out the paſſage becauſe I thought it would intereſt you.

ELLESMERE. Yes; I can imagine that the good fa-

* Deſde la primera hora que comenzó á deſhechar las tinieblas de aquella ignorancia nunca leyó en Libro de latin ó de romance, *que fuéron en cuarenta y cuatro años infinitos*, en que no hallaſe ó razon ó authoridad para probar y corroborar la Juſticia de aquellas Indianas Gentes, y para condenacion de las injuſticias que ſe les han hecho y males y daños.

ther found in "the ſainted Thomas," for I ſuppoſe that was *the* book of thoſe days, many a ſentence which ſeemed written purpoſely for the behoof of the Indians.

DUNSFORD. I think, Milverton, you might have given us ſome noble quotations from Bacon, or Cicero, about the grandeur and the comfort of ſtudy.

MILVERTON. No: if I had given you anything, it would have been from a more unfrequented ſource; and if you like, I will do ſo now (here Milverton called to his ſervant and requeſted him to bring Hazlitt's Lectures on the Elizabethan Writers).

ELLESMERE. What a learned young man that ſervant of your's is! What a profound acquaintance he ſeems to have with the outſides of books, which after all is the ſafeſt and the pleaſanteſt kind of book-knowledge.

MILVERTON. I think you might extend your commendation to a knowledge of the title pages,—but here he comes with the book. I will read you the paſſage I alluded to.

"They (books) are the neareſt to our thoughts: they "wind into the heart; the poet's verſe ſlides into the "current of our blood. We read them when young, "we remember them when old. We read there of "what has happened to others; we feel that it has hap-"pened to ourſelves. They are to be had everywhere "cheap and good. We breathe but the air of books: "we owe everything to their authors, on this ſide bar-"bariſm; and we pay them eaſily with contempt, while "living, and with an epitaph, when dead! Michael

"Angelo is beyond the Alps; Mrs. Siddons has left the "ſtage and us to mourn her loſs. Were it not ſo, there "are neither picture-galleries nor theatres-royal on Saliſ-"bury-plain, where I write this; but here, even here, "with a few old authors, I can manage to get through "the ſummer or the winter months, without ever know-"ing what it is to feel ennui. They ſit with me at "breakfaſt; they walk out with me before dinner. Af-"ter a long walk through unfrequented tracts, after "ſtarting the hare from the fern, or hearing the wing of "the raven ruſtling above my head, or being greeted by "the woodman's 'ſtern good night,' as he ſtrikes into "his narrow homeward path, I can 'take mine eaſe at "mine inn,' beſide the blazing hearth, and ſhake hands "with Signor Orlando Friſcobaldo, as the oldeſt ac-"quaintance I have. Ben Jonſon, learned Chapman, "Maſter Webſter, and Maſter Heywood, are there; and, "ſeated round, diſcourſe the ſilent hours away. Shak-"ſpeare is there himſelf, not in Cibber's manager's coat. "Spenſer is hardly yet returned from a ramble through "the woods, or is concealed behind a group of nymphs, "fawns, and ſatyrs. Milton lies on the table, as on an "altar, never taken up or laid down without reverence. "Lyly's Endymion ſleeps with the moon, that ſhines "in at the window; and a breath of wind ſtirring up at "a diſtance ſeems a ſigh from the tree under which he "grew old. Fauſtus diſputes in one corner of the room "with fiendiſh faces, and reaſons of divine aſtrology. "Bellafront ſoothes Matheo, Vittoria triumphs over her

"judges, and old Chapman repeats one of the hymns of "Homer, in his own fine tranſlation! I ſhould have no "objection to paſs my life in this manner out of the "world, not thinking of it, nor it of me; neither abuſed "by my enemies, nor defended by my friends; careleſs "of the future, but ſometimes dreaming of the paſt, which "might as well be forgotten."

ELLESMERE. A great many of the gentlemen alluded to by Hazlitt are quite unknown to me, but he has brought out his own feelings ſo admirably that I do not need to know the particular inſtances.

Here it was neceſſary that I ſhould return home, and I accordingly took leave of my friends after arranging to have another meeting ſoon.

CHAPTER II.

THE next time I came over to Worth Aſhton, to meet Elleſmere and to hear a chapter read, it was a mild dull day; and as we had long been looking out for ſuch a day, to go upon the downs, we reſolved to take this opportunity; ſo, after Milverton had let the dogs looſe, we all ſallied forth. It was our intention to chooſe for our place of reading ſome tumuli which are at no great diſtance from Worth Aſhton. We had a good deal of converſation in the courſe of our walk, which Milverton thus began.

MILVERTON. I have had ſuch trouble to let that dog looſe. He ſeemed to know that we were going out upon the downs, which he greatly approves of; and he was ſo impatient that I could not get at his collar to undo it. I thought all the time how like I was to Pope Pius the Ninth, who muſt have much the ſame difficulty in keeping his Italians quiet enough for him to free them.

ELLESMERE. That is true, I dare ſay; but I do not

know enough of Italian politics to pronounce any thing about them. However, I can ſee it is a grand thing to have a Pope "of ſome mark and likelihood" in our times. It gives new life to Politics.

MILVERTON. And not to politics only.

ELLESMERE. Well, we ſhall ſee. Theſe are matters we ſhall hear much of in our time. Meanwhile, let us drink in ſome of this delightful air. Look at that ungainly puppy trying to catch the thiſtle-down as it ſteals up the hill. What is it? Oh! I ſee, a ſeed in the middle and this feathery ſtuff round it, ſo that the ſeed may be carried hither and thither. Not unlike many a book—one idea in it, and ſome airy ſtuff round it, and ſo it floats along merrily enough.

MILVERTON. Carry out the ſimile a little further, my critical friend. What animal is it that feeds upon the parent of the thiſtledown? Is it a like creature that devours the authors of the books?

DUNSFORD. I think, Elleſmere, you have not gained much by your attack upon Milverton's tribe.

ELLESMERE. I wonder, now, are authors fonder of their books than painters of their pictures?

MILVERTON. I ſuſpect it is not a very laſting fondneſs, even when it is a fondneſs in either caſe. But there is a great difference between the two things.

ELLESMERE. Yes; for in the picture you have the thing actually made by its author, which he touched, which was for a long time in his preſence. Let us think of that when we look at a great picture. It is

a relic of the great artiſt. It was one of his houſehold gods for a time.

MILVERTON. I often think what intereſt there is in a picture quite independent of its ſubject, or its merit, or its author. I mean the intereſt belonging to the hiſtory of it, as a work of ſome one man's labour. I can imagine he was ſo joyous in the beginning of it: the whole work was already done, perhaps, in his mind, where the colours are eaſily laid on, while the canvaſs yet was white. Then there were the early ſketches. He finds the idea is not ſo eaſy after all to put on canvaſs. At laſt a beginning is made; and then the work proceeds for a time rapidly. How often he draws back from the canvaſs, approaches it again, looks at it fondly yet wiſtfully, as a watching mother at a ſick child. He is interrupted, tries to be courteous or kind, as the occaſion requires, but is delighted when the door cloſes and leaves him alone with the only creature whoſe preſence he cares much for juſt now. All day long his picture is with him in the back ground of his mind. He goes out: the bright colours in the ſhops, the lines of buildings, little children on the door-ſteps, all ſhow him ſomething; and when he goes back, he ruſhes into his painting-room, to expend his freſh vigour and his new inſight upon the work of his heart. So it goes on. Let us hope that it proſpers. Then there comes a time when the completion of the picture is foreſeen by him, when there is not much room for more to be made of it, and yet it is not nearly finiſhed. He is a little weary of it. Obſerve this,

Ellesmere, there is the same thing throughout life, in all forms of human endeavour. These times of weariness need watching. But our artist is patient and plods on. The end of the drama approaches, when the picture is to go into a gilt frame, and be varnished, and hung up—like the hero of a novel upon whom a flood of good fortune is let in at last.

Ellesmere. Stop here. Do not let us have the "decline and fall" of the picture; when it comes to be a target for children, or subsides into the corner of an old curiosity shop.

Milverton. No. Besides it would not be fair to take the unsuccessful pictures only. How many are delicately cared for and tended in lordly galleries, and hear choice words of praise and nice criticism from the lips of the wise and the beautiful; and are the pets of the world. But the history of any picture before it left the artist's studio, would be enough, if we could know it all, to interest us greatly even where the picture was but a poor thing—a wish rather than a deed.

Ellesmere. Let us sit down here.

Dunsford. Yes.

Ellesmere. Get away, Rollo! Did you see that dog nearly upset me, coming to shake hands, as their way is, with his mouth. What was it we were talking about before we sat down? Ah, pictures. I was going to say all the London world now are discussing the designs for the new Houses, and people are very full of suggestions for great historical pictures. There is one comfort, we

ſhall not be troubled with Madonnas. I confeſs I am wearied with Madonnas. If I were an autocrat I would ſay "Let there be no more Madonnas painted: "we have had enough of them."

MILVERTON. At the time the great ones were painted, there was a religious intent in the painter and in thoſe for whom he painted, which prevented their looking at a Madonna as a mere work of art. Hence they were not wearied at the repetition.

DUNSFORD. There is one ſacred ſubject which ſeems to me amongſt the moſt touching, if not the moſt ſublime, that we can imagine. And yet it is not altogether what can be made of it in a picture that I mean. The ſcene is one for the mind to work out in all its fulneſs, and ſoon outſtrips whatever even a Rembrandt can give us. It is "the woman taken in adultery." I often picture that ſcene to myſelf—the majeſtic figure of the divine Pardoner: the ſhrinking, downcaſt, ſhame-burnt woman: the crowd of accuſers and of unloving byſtanders fading away aweſtricken at the hideous phantoms of their own guilt. For then, perhaps, before each man roſe his own ſin, not as it lies compreſſed in any one human heart, a little thing, but vaſt, unmeaſured, darkening the way before him. Their murders and their adulteries then appeared to thoſe who thought they knew not the words murder and adultery as touching them: nor did they as the world knows them. Here ſtood the man who had been guilty of many things, but whom guilt had not made tolerant. He

vaniſhed in affright. Here was the ſtrict, preciſe, ſelf-righteous man, whoſe want of charity ſuddenly made viſible to him was an abyſs to look into, which faſcinated and appalled him. And he wandered away he knew not whither. Here were thoſe who were ſtrong, inaſmuch as they had not been tempted: and they ſaw for a moment their future ſelves, or what men ſuch as they might come to; and hurried away ſick at heart and ſhuddering, as one belated whom the lightning tells ſuddenly that he has been walking with heedleſs unconcern through mountain paſſes needing by daylight the niceſt and the firmeſt footſtep. And then I think I ſee at the edge of the crowd a young girl who had come, not from malice or ill will, but with a curious wiſh to ſee ſomething of human ſuffering. And ſhe too moves away like the reſt, but not aghaſt with horror like them, and yet with ſorrow, ſhame, and wailing, in that ſhe had not pitied more.

We were ſilent for a time, and reſumed our walk in ſilence, nor do I recollect any more of our converſation till after Milverton had read to us the following eſſay on giving and taking criticiſm.

ON GIVING AND TAKING CRITICISM.

I SCARCELY know of anything more valuable to a man than his opinions and his judgments, or of more importance to others. Whether it is that I myſelf am very ſlow to form opinions, or that they really are very difficult to attain, they certainly appear to me great acquiſitions. Often like other acquiſitions,—houſes, lands, honours, children, money, —theſe opinions are a great care, and a great trouble; but ſtill they are acquiſitions: and it ſeems to me that any man who waſtes his opinions by injudicious ſcattering, or by throwing them out before they are complete, is a ſad ſpendthrift. And if he pretends to have opinions and utters remarks that appear like judgments when he has them not, he may remind his hearers ſomewhat of a coiner and utterer of falſe money.

I ſuppoſe, however, that many of thoſe who criticiſe much do not opine or judge, but only talk. There is, too, a flow of criticiſm with ſome men, like the poetry of improviſatori, neither good

nor altogether bad, having no deep meaning or purpoſe in it, bearing marks of no correction, being ſomething like the talk of parrots, except that it lacks the force which belongs to repetition.

There are two characteriſtics which I think may be obſerved in the conduct of thoſe who form opinions ſubſtantially for themſelves. Theſe perſons are either very reticent about their opinions; for having worked at them, and, perhaps, ſuffered for them, and knowing, too, how much there is to be ſaid on the other ſide, it is not play with ſuch people to produce their opinions: (they would as ſoon expoſe their cheriſhed feelings) or, on the other hand, if they have once expreſſed theſe opinions, you are very likely to perceive a conſtant reference to them, and you find that the holders of opinions thus formed, do not ſoon tire of them. The formers, therefore, of their own opinions are ſlow to utter and likely to repeat.

Man's criticiſm has chiefly had for its objects the appearances of nature and the characters of other men and their doings. When we think what, for centuries, was the criticiſm upon nature among people fully equal to ourſelves; how they pronounced without the ſlighteſt experience upon the graveſt matters; how they put words for

facts, declaring that bodies deſcended becauſe it was the nature of bodies to deſcend, or dicta of that kind; it may occur to us how often in queſtions of ſocial and political life, and the judgment of character, we may be exerciſing a ſimilar raſhneſs and indiſcretion. When you have an opportunity of looking well into any one human character, you may ſee meanneſs and generoſity, ſenſuality and abſtinence, ſoftneſs and ferocity, profound diſſimulation and extreme imprudence all mixed up in one man. And I have ſeen in the ſame character great ſenſitiveneſs, lively appreciation of difficulties and defects, and extreme faſtidiouſneſs, joined to the utmoſt tenacity of purpoſe—a combination like that of a bull-dog's head to the ſhivering delicate body of an Italian greyhound. Theſe ſtrangely intermingled characters are then thrown amidſt the ever varying circumſtances of life; and we, the byſtanders, having a partial view of the circumſtances and no conception of the original texture of the character, and judging it by an artificial ſtandard of our own, pronounce opinions formed, perhaps, in the greateſt haſte, and in anſwer to ſomebody elſe,—fatal opinions on our fellow-men.

There is one thing which I imagine has much

perplexed men in judging of character, and made their judgments often very abſurd. I allude to their habit of nice diviſion of qualities and temperaments, about which they talk as if each were a thing by itſelf and had not entered into almoſt indiſſoluble connection with the reſt. For example, I imagine that ſtrength of mind is often accompanied by, perhaps we ought to ſay, abſolutely connected with, ſtrength of paſſions. The critic takes the life and conduct of a man in whom ſuch a combination exiſts, and talks of him as if he had had originally the ſagacity and the force of mind, but that all the paſſions were acquired, or, vice verſâ, gives the Paſſions and makes the judgment acquired; or, at any rate, ſees no wholeneſs in the character. A forcible inſtance of the kind of character I mean, occurs to me in the perſon of one of our greateſt kings, Henry the Second. In him extreme ſagacity and great nobleneſs of mind were joined with the utmoſt violence of paſſion. In reading the hiſtory of his reign, we find him at whatever part of his dominions his preſence is wanted, conducting his affairs with the utmoſt ability, with almoſt ability enough to counteract the evils which his paſſions had raiſed againſt him. In buſineſs,

in pleaſure, in ſtudy, he would be foremoſt. Strange to ſay, he was one of the moſt prudent men of his time; and his treaties, eſpecially after conqueſt, are ſurpriſing for their moderation. Then we have an account of him on the floor gnawing ſtraws like a maniac, in exceſs of uncontrolable paſſion. Such a man, if he has children, is likely to have a ſtrange fierce brood like himſelf; and they will not diminiſh his troubles or fail to call out all the points of his character. Now what I mean as regards the criticiſm on ſuch characters, and perhaps on all characters, is that we canvaſs bit by bit, quality by quality, inſtead of looking at the whole as a whole. I ſuſpect that what we call Nature is very ſparing in giving unqualified good. She lays down a bark of great capacity; ſoundly and wiſely builds it; but then freights it, perhaps, with fierce energies and leaves it to ſtormy impulſes, which carry it out into the wildeſt ſeas; and what the reſult will be, may depend on a very ſlight balance of favourable and unfavourable endeavours and influences. Extremely fooliſh criticiſm is likely to be uttered by thoſe who are looking at the labouring veſſel from the land.

The great deficiencies in criticiſm throughout all ages have been a deficiency of humility, a lack of charity, and a want of imagination. The abſence of humility in critics is ſomething wonderful. The fly on the axle of the chariot in Eſop's fables, though he made a fooliſh and vain-glorious remark in obſerving what a duſt he raiſed, was not ſo abſurd as the wren would be, who, perched upon the unconſcious eagle, ſhould ſuppoſe that he keeps the eagle down, and ſhould talk accordingly. Men who work muſt expoſe ſomething to criticiſm; and the wider and greater their tranſactions, the more ſurface there is likely to be expoſed. The larger the fortreſs, the greater the choice of attack. The ſmaller kind of critics, like ancient Parthians, or modern Coſſacks, hover on the rear of a great army, transfix a ſentinel, ſurpriſe an outpoſt, haraſs the army's march, afflict its flight; but they rarely determine the campaign. It hardly becomes them to claim the honors of the ſteady legionary.

I have ſaid that criticiſm has very frequently lacked imagination as well as charity and humility. In no reſpect will this combined deficiency be better perceived than in conſidering the way in which men perſiſt in commenting upon the

works of others from their own peculiar ground and point of view. They will not exercise a charitable imagination, and look at what is done with due regard to the doer's drift and conception. Their own conceits perplex and stultify their judgment.

Of the difference between acting and criticising action, you will be easily convinced, if you observe what an immediate change comes over the spirit of those who, having been accustomed to criticise, have suddenly to work in the very vocation which they have been given to criticise. Men called to power from the ranks of opposition, afford a well known instance of this; but lower down in life, in domestic authority for example, the same phenomenon takes place. He who has been wont to pronounce so fluently upon the defects of another's rule and management, finds, when in power himself, what a different thing it is to act and to talk. His rash and heated judgment is all at once sobered by the weight of responsibility.

We may even go further in this argument, and contend that the functions of doing and criticising are not merely different but oftentimes antagonistic; for you will rarely find that a man given to criticism, does much; and, on the other hand,

that the man who does much, has not outgrown the habit of much criticiſm—at any rate of the ill-natured kind. It is here as elſewhere that thoſe paſſions and qualities which make us injurious or offenſive to our neighbour, react directly upon ourſelves. An ill-tempered man often has every thing his own way and ſeems very triumphant; but the demon he cheriſhes tears him as well as awes other people. So, in criticiſm, he who worries others by injurious or needleſs remarks, ends in tormenting himſelf by a mean and over-ſolicitous care about his own thoughts and deeds; and perhaps not all the ſelf-inflicted tortures of religious devotees have equalled the miſery which men have given themſelves up to from remarks of their own about themſelves, and imaginary remarks on their conduct by their neighbours.

In ſpeaking of criticiſm, we muſt not omit to mention that there is a ſpecies of it which may be called needleſs, as diſtinguiſhed from that which is intentionally unkind. It is a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that becauſe words are uſed logically and may be ſenſible enough in themſelves, that they may nevertheleſs not come under the

deſcription of folly, and be liable to all that Solomon has ſaid againſt fooliſh talk. I believe that more breaches of friendſhip and love have been created, and more hatred cemented, by needleſs criticiſm than by any one other thing. If you find a man who performs moſt of the relations of life dutifully, is even kind and affectionate, but who, you diſcover, is ſecretly diſliked and feared by all his friends and acquaintances, you will often on further inveſtigation aſcertain that he is one who indulges largely in needleſs criticiſm.

Some conſiderable part of the troubles and perplexities of each man's mind lies in the endurance and digeſtion of criticiſm—more too, perhaps, of the criticiſm by anticipation, which he fancies he hears, or will hear, than from that which is actually addreſſed to him. Now there are ſeveral ways of dealing with any trouble or misfortune. One is, to magnify it. Machiavelli, in his celebrated letter to Vettori, after deſcribing his ſordid occupations and the company he keeps (a lime-kiln man, a butcher, and the landlord of a ſmall country inn) ſays "I develope the malignity of my fortune." He thought by magnifying it to overcome it. Then there is the ſtoical way,

to ignore misfortune. Then there is the humorous, in which a man pretends, as it were, not to know his misfortune, or will only look at the droll ſide of it. Then there is the calm and buſineſs-like way of dealing with misfortune—to look at it full in the face—meaſure it carefully and ſee what good is in it, what can be done with it, and how it can be ſtowed away.

All the above methods may be applied to the endurance of unkind or thoughtleſs criticiſm, which, however, is generally attempted to be dealt with as if it were no evil. But making lighter of an evil than it really is, does not appear to me the ſafe way to ſuppreſs it. Suppoſe you have done any thing with large expenſe of labour: written a book which you have really tried to write honeſtly, built a houſe, begun to drain a moſs, eſtabliſhed a buſineſs, led an expedition, or in ſhort done anything which has coſt you thought and toil, abnegation and enterprize of various kinds—which is, indeed, a conſiderable part of your life: it is no good pretending that hoſtile and thoughtleſs criticiſm upon this work is not a painful thing. Accept it as an unpleaſant circumſtance; take into fair conſideration the injury that it may be. This is far better than ſaying you do not care at all about ſuch criticiſm;

and yet all the time ſecretly fretting at it. Several of the works above enumerated depend for their reſult upon opinion; and it is idle to talk about not caring for opinion in ſuch caſes. The plan is, to enlighten yourſelf about the meaning and force of the opinion in queſtion. If it be ſound and you feel it to be ſound, profit by it; you have then counteracted ſome of the injury, and in this ſolid gain there ſhould be compenſation even for mortified vanity.

But often there is no good to be gained from the criticiſm: it is empty, ill-natured, untrue; and nobody knows that ſo well as you who have done the work criticiſed. This criticiſm is an unwelcome hindrance and an injury. But here again, what balm there is to be had upon the ſlighteſt reflection. This opinion which annoys you ſo much, is frequently that of one or few. You will be very cool and indifferent about the whole matter by the time it is rightly judged; I mean even if it is in your life-time. Then you are to conſider that all men who do anything, muſt endure this depreciation of their efforts. It is the dirt which their chariot wheels throw up. You may then further conſider that frequently between the doer and the critic there is a ſpan which cannot be bridged over. It is not wiſe, however,

to let your thoughts go far in this direction, leſt they become arrogant. But the main comfort under injurious comments of any kind is to look at them fairly, accept them as an evil, and calculate the extent of the miſchief. Theſe injurious comments ſeldom blacken all creation for you. A humorous friend of mine who ſuffered ſome time ago under a ſevere article in the firſt newſpaper in the world, tells me that it was a very painful ſenſation for the firſt day, and that he thought all eyes were upon him (he being a retired, quiet, faſtidious perſon) but going into his nurſery and finding his children were the ſame to him as uſual, and then walking out with his dogs and obſerving that they frolicked about him as they were wont to do, he began to diſcover that there was happily a public very near and dear to him, in which even the articles of the "Times" could make no impreſſion. The next day my poor friend, who by the way was firmly convinced that he was right in the matter in controverſy, had become quite himſelf again. Indeed he ſnapped his fingers at leading articles, and ſaid he wiſhed people would write more of them againſt him.

It may be thought that I have hitherto ſpoken only, or chiefly, of fooliſh, indiſcreet, or reſtleſs

criticiſm; and have omitted to point out the merits of criticiſm, when well directed. But I am well aware that there is a criticiſm which may almoſt be called a religious criticiſm; which holds out its warnings when multitudes are mad, and when following a multitude to talk nonſenſe is much the ſame thing as following it to do evil. There is alſo the pious, high-built criticiſm, which reluctantly points out defects in thoſe works it loves beſt; and which would be ſilent if it were too late to be of uſe. There is the criticiſm founded upon patient reſearch and ſtudious deliberation, which even if it be given ſomewhat rudely and harſhly, cannot but be uſeful, and which like the froſt thins away the weeds which, but for its kindly nipping, would occupy the air and food wanted for the young plantation of ſerviceable timber. There is the loving criticiſm which explains, elicits, illumines; ſhowing the force and beauty of ſome great word or deed which, but for the kind care of the critic, might remain a dead letter or an inert fact; teaching the people to underſtand and to admire what is admirable.

There is the every day criticiſm of good handy men, which is but a ſtepping back to look at their own and others' labours, and is the fair judgment on their joint work by a worker.

Laſtly, there is the ſilent criticiſm of example, worth all the reſt.

ELLESMERE. What a ſcandalous ſhame it is—(don't look ſo aſtoniſhed, Milverton, I am not talking of the eſſay) what a ſcandalous ſhame it is, I ſay, that we ſhould uſe the word puppy as we do. I have been watching our young friend there: up he flies at Rollo's ear, Rollo gives him a ſhake, tumbles him over and away he goes rolling down the mound. He waddles up directly, commences his attack again and is ſent about his buſineſs in the ſame way. But he is not to be daunted. Now what a ſhame to make ſuch a noble creature's name a term of reproach.

MILVERTON. Be comforted, Elleſmere; I dare ſay old dogs, when they have a more than uſually tireſome puppy to ſcold, call it "young man," in their language.

DUNSFORD. I ſay, it is a ſcandalous ſhame that you two ſhould be talking ſuch nonſenſe when there is ſo much to be ſaid about the eſſay.

ELLESMERE. Now, my dear Dunsford, if you think that I have hurried down by the expreſs train this hot day to talk ſenſe, and do criticiſm, you muſt be undeceived forthwith. Beſides, what is the good of liſtening to eſſays or ſermons, or moral diſcourſes of any kind,

without attempting to act in some accordance with them. After receiving this "heavy blow and great discouragement" to inconsiderate criticism in general, would it become me to be blurting out my poor thoughts and picking an essay to pieces which orders me to pick nothing to pieces without good reason, and desires me, the critic, (not that there was any need in my particular case) to stand hat in hand before the writer, the maker of any work. For to-day I will be of Hamlet's mind, and consider that even praise may be arrogant.

DUNSFORD. Where does Hamlet say that?

ELLESMERE. He intimates something of the kind, when Osric brings the news of the King's wager.

Osric. You are not ignorant of what excellence Laertes is—

Hamlet. I dare not confess that, lest I should compare with him in excellence.

MILVERTON. I am not altogether sorry to be exempt from Ellesmere's criticism to-day: though, to tell the truth, I rather distrust our friend's sudden modesty, Dunsford.

ELLESMERE. You may take it another way if you please. There is the silent criticism of silence, worth all the rest. But if you want to know what I really have been thinking about during the reading, I will tell you; and my thoughts, though you will hardly see how, grew out of the reading in a distant way, and out of thinking where we are and what these mounds contain.

DUNSFORD. In 1837 there was—

ELLESMERE. Yes, yes, I suppose some one has routed

into theſe mounds; but, pleaſe, do not tell me about it: I do not want to know. I can imagine that here were huddled together the bodies of brave men and ſome of their rude implements of war: and other men, as brave mayhap, who fell around here the kites fed upon; and the army marched on; and there was mourning on this ſide and rejoicing on that; and men miſſed their comrades for a few days; and theſe were at reſt. Well, I thought of ſuch things; and then I wondered what they made of life in thoſe ages; and then I returned to preſent times; and thought of our chief modern men; and you will both be pleaſed to find that thoſe I thought of were amongſt your author and artiſt tribe.

Dunsford. Well that is a redeeming point in this vague thinking of yours.

Ellesmere. You know, Milverton, your clan have always received me kindly; and, indeed, I was fortunate enough when a younger man, to know ſome of the great people of old. But to come to the ſubſtance of what I was going to ſay, I thought that theſe people, though they were excellent company (they ought to be, their knowledge is more extenſive and various, and in general better arranged than that of other men) yet that they were a ſad hearted race—at leaſt many of them were. And then I thought to myſelf ought this to be? Theſe men, according to our theory, get nearer to the meaning of many things. Is that meaning a ſad one? Is the great "open ſecret" of the world a grievous thing? You, I know, Dunsford, imagine my thoughts to be a maſs of unreaſoning and ſomewhat hopeleſs

ſcepticiſm; but I muſt ſay, at the riſk of gaining ſome of your good opinion, that I cannot but believe that the nearer we could get to this inner meaning I have been talking of, the more comfort and joy we ſhould find. I venture to ſuſpect that Solomon was melancholy rather than wiſe, when he pronounced that Wiſdom is ſorrow. But it jars upon one to find that men who ſeem to know ſo much, do not make a better thing of it, themſelves. Theſe may be common-place thoughts; but there you have what I was thinking about inſtead of criticiſing.

MILVERTON. Suppoſing that what you ſay is a fair ſtatement of facts, there are many ways of accounting for it. The original conſtitution of men of genius, for it is of ſuch, I ſuppoſe, that you are talking, may be unfavourable to joy. Though, after all, I queſtion whether there are any perſons who can be ſo jovial. Well then mental toil is the greateſt of toil; and naturally undermines that health which we know, is a needful element for comfort and joy. Then a man cannot ſerve two maſters; and conſequently the worldly relations of men of genius, as of ſtateſmen abſorbed in ſtate affairs, are very apt to become a torment to them. I do not ſay this as any excuſe for the irregularities, as they are called, of men of genius. But it is a fact. Almoſt any worldly ſtate in which a man can be placed is a hindrance to him if he have other than mere worldly things to do. Poverty, wealth, many duties, or many affairs diſtract and confuſe him. No affairs, no diſtreſſes, no ties leave him uneducated in the moſt important knowledge he

can have. Then, again, though this is a difficult and dangerous ſubject to enter upon, men of genius have been apt to make a ſad buſineſs of ſome of their domeſtic relations. Moreover, there is often a great deal in their ways of going on that provokes diſeſteem in thoſe around them. They are ſimple, child-like, — worldly wiſe and worldly fooliſh. Their fooliſhneſs is underſtood. They ſee further than thoſe around them, but it is into a region where the others have no view, and, therefore, do not believe in the country — thinking it entirely cloud-land. While, in the near region, though the former underſtand that too and its juſt place and proportion; yet as it muſt be all in all to them to be thoroughly managed by them, and as they will not ſuffer it to be all in all, but rather depreciate it perhaps, they often miſs even the proper hold of it. And for all theſe and many other reaſons (for I do not ſee where we ſhould end, if we were to go minutely into this matter) they ſooner meet with the imperfections of ſympathy; and find out earlier than other men that man is only partially underſtood, or pitied, or loved, by man; but for the fulneſs of theſe things he muſt go to ſome far-off country. And here philoſophy and experience are permitted to enter into the track of piety and have their thoughts, too, of how good a thing it muſt be for the ſoul to be with God.*

* Talking once with Milverton upon the ſame ſubject, he ſaid that train of thought was baſed on ſomething in Emerſon's eſſay on Love. The following muſt be the paſſage:

ELLESMERE. There is ſomething in all this; but of courſe I did not make my remark with an utter forgetfulneſs of theſe things.

MILVERTON. I meant to begin with the more obvious part of the matter, which, however, ought not to be neglected. Now, here is a view that perhaps you have not thought of. You ſee ſome great reſult come from a man's work and you conclude juſtly enough that there are power and inſight in that man. That is the main thing which is before you in thinking of him. Then you wonder his gifts do not do more. You want them to lift him up altogether. But is it unreaſonable to imagine that there may ſometimes be proportion in natural gifts —for inſtance, that where there is great ſagacity there may be great paſſions; that, in ſhort, where there are great powers there may be great inherent drawbacks.

"But we are often made to feel that our affections are but "tents of a night. Though ſlowly and with pain, the objects "of the affections change, as the objects of thought do. There "are moments when the affections rule and abſorb the man, and "make his happineſs dependent on a perſon or perſons. But in "health the mind is preſently ſeen again,—its overarching vault, "bright with galaxies of immutable lights, and the warm loves "and fears that ſwept over us as clouds, muſt loſe their finite "character, and blend with God, to attain their own perfection. "But we need not fear that we can loſe any thing by the pro-"greſs of the ſoul. The ſoul may be truſted to the end. That "which is ſo beautiful and attractive as theſe relations, muſt be "ſucceeded and ſupplanted only by what is more beautiful, and "ſo on for ever.

I am but repeating what I have ſaid in other words in the eſſay.

Ellesmere. Yes, there is ſomething in this. I think, however, I had in my mind men whoſe inſight had not had much odds to contend againſt, but ſtill who ſeem to have progreſſed into ſadneſs.

Milverton. The traveller may come into a fine country which fills his heart with conſolation, if not with joy; but he himſelf remains, at leaſt for a time, travel-worn, travel-ſtained, with eyes that have not loſt the anxious watching look of one accuſtomed to lie down at night in peril.

Ellesmere. Oh I am no match for you, if you once get amongſt metaphors. It is your trade. A plain man like me, who has to addreſs plain men, like Lord Chancellors and judges, cannot aſcend with theſe flights of yours.

Milverton. There are ſubjects the truth of which can never be ſo well brought out as by the aid of metaphors. Metaphors give body and circumſtance to things which could not be adequately repreſented if diſcuſſed in cold though preciſe terms.

Ellesmere. Good—that's true, I dare ſay. However, I ſtill venture to think, that metaphors have done at leaſt as much harm by introducing falſehood as they have by repreſenting truth. But you have made a good plea, and you may indulge in as many metaphors as you like. Proceed.

Milverton. Then, too, if it be not too bold to ſay ſo on behalf of any men, may there not be ſomething vicarious in the ſufferings of men of genius? Again, the

work before them ſits heavy and grievous on their minds. Moreover, when you talk of their wiſdom and what you extract from it, though I admit the difference between a wiſe man, or a man of genius, and a fool is coloſſal to us, yet you muſt recollect, that as meaſured againſt the great verities it is engaged with, it may be very very ſmall indeed.

Dunsford. We cannot keep that too much in mind: and I would ſay, though you may both think it commonplace, that the wiſdom or inſight you have been talking of, may be that which the Scriptures call fooliſhneſs.

Ellesmere. I have had in my thoughts, Dunsford, religious men, or what we conſider ſuch, as well as others.

Milverton. Then another thing, we know ſo little of men, that we can hardly judge of their moods. I was very much ſtruck the other day with a quotation from Seneca, which was in the margin of one of theſe old Spaniſh hiſtorians I am looking into juſt now. "Levis eſt dolor qui capere conſilium poteſt."

Ellesmere. That is a good deal deeper than Seneca uſed to go in my time, when I looked into him.

Dunsford. Having to do with Nero would make a man think deeply upon ſome ſubjects—eſpecially upon concealed griefs and fears.

Milverton. But, to go back to our ſubject, for I have more to ſay yet. I queſtion whether even men of genius have ever ſuffered more than dull men, or merely clever men, with one idea which has ſunk under them—a ſmall ambitious man, for inſtance, utterly un-

ſucceſsful in his ſchemes, or a man ſet on one affection which turns out ill. Genius is multiform and artiſtic; it twines beautiful garlands round the images of paſt hopes, knowing all the time, as well as other men, that it is only adorning what is lifeleſs.

Dunsford. This world is a world of trial, not of completion and attainment in any way. You expect more of clear and diſtinct gain than you ought, Elleſmere.

Milverton. I ſomehow fancy we are a little wrong in our general notions about this world being a place of trial; I would rather, if I might ſay ſo, call it a place of education, of continuous creation, than of trial. It may not be, as we ſometimes pronounce, that life, the life of ſouls, is ſent here to ſee what will become of it, to ſee whether it is good or bad, but to form it and further it, in accordance with which, it may be, (as the author of "the Natural Hiſtory of Enthuſiaſm" would ſay*) that all are getting the fitteſt education for them. The hardeſt

* This is doubtleſs the paſſage which Milverton had in his mind. "The world of nature affords no inſtances of complicated and "exact contrivances, comparable to that which ſo arranges the "vaſt chaos of contingencies as to produce with unerring preci- "ſion, a ſpecial order of events adapted to the character of every "individual of the human family. Amid the whirl of myriads "of fortuities, the means are ſelected and combined for conſtruct- "ing as many independent machineries of moral diſcipline as "there are moral agents in the world, and each apparatus is at "once complete in itſelf, and complete as part of a univerſal "movement."

criminal, for inſtance, what can ſubdue him into humanity like the having committed crime? It may be, too, that men take their gains with them. A man's inſight (what little he can get) may not, therefore, be unprofitable to him, Elleſmere, or be otherwiſe than inſight, though it cannot be expreſſed in joy and ſerenity here. However this may be, I think it is, perhaps, nearer the truth to look upon this world as one of education than of trial.

Elleſmere. Alſo a world to live in. It has a ſubſtantive exiſtence of its own, which we ſhould make what we can of. It does not become us to depreciate time preſent too much. Here we are, with a great deal to look upon, and uſe, and underſtand, if we can.

Milverton. Yes: it is a part of education, and not the leaſt, to deal with the preſent ſteadily and healthily.

Dunsford. How very few, for example, make a tithe of what they might out of the every day beauty of nature. They come crying to it ſometimes and aſking for peace and repoſe from it.

Milverton. I quite agree with you, if you mean that few of us enjoy enough the beauty we ought to ſee every day about us, and which ſhould go to form the ſubſtance of our day's delight. But I doubt whether the contemplation of inanimate Nature will do for us what poets ſometimes imagine it will in the way of ſoothing. To look upon nature, to get into the foreſt or out upon the moor, is no doubt a delightful eſcape from the teaſing ways of man. But there is, perhaps,

an aching of the heart as well as a ſoothing in much contemplation of ſtill life. Where I think there is moſt conſolation, is in the immenſity of creation, in the vigour and pertinacity of life: the moſt wounded heart conſidering theſe things, can throw its griefs into the vaſt maſs of life, ſee that there are other things beſides it, have an impreſſion that there is a ſcheme of creation large enough to anſwer all the demands of vexed imagination. Herein, I think, the reſults of ſcience miniſter much comfort to the mind.

Ellesmere. Some of us, ſpeaking ſo coldly of ſtill life, hardly deſerve, I think, to look over theſe beautiful downs.

Milverton. Let us not mind that, if we can in any way deſerve to look up at the ſtars ſometimes. But we muſt be moving homewards, unleſs we mean to find our way by ſtar-light: and even now I think I ſee ſome "bright particular" ſtars that will not wait for darkneſs to be ſomewhat ſeen. Ah! beautiful creations, it is not in guiding us over the ſeas of our little planet, but out of the dark waters of our own perturbed minds, that we may make to ourſelves the moſt of your ſignificance.

We returned home, not ſorry to be moſtly ſilent as we went, and glad that our friendſhip was ſo aſſured that we could be ſilent, without the ſlighteſt danger of offence.

CHAPTER III.

To enable my readers to underſtand this chapter, I muſt firſt trouble them with ſome domeſtic circumſtances. Whether it was from our excurſion to the downs, mentioned in the laſt chapter, or from ſome other cauſe I do not know, but at this time I became ſo unwell as to be unable to leave my room. It would have been a great deprivation to me not to know ſomething about the converſation before and after Milverton's next reading, ſo I reſolved to ſend over to Worth Aſhton one who might take my place and bring me ſome account of what was ſaid.

My home is graced by the preſence of my ſiſter, Mrs. Daylmer, and her daughter Lucy. Daylmer and I were fellow-collegians and intimate friends, and our friendſhip led to a union between the families. Men of my ſtanding may recollect what a ſcholar Daylmer was; and though it is a trivial thing to recall, yet ſome may remember a tranſlation of his into Latin Alcaics of

that magnificent chorus in the "Antigone" about love,* which tranſlation made ſome noiſe amongſt us when we were freſhmen. Daylmer died young, leaving ſome few reſults of his ſcholarſhip, which yet remain with me in manuſcript. Ever ſince his death my ſiſter and my niece have lived with me. My ſiſter manages the houſe for me, and does not leave me much to do as regards the management of myſelf. But I muſt not complain, as it is a great thing to be loved and cared for by anybody; and then too, my ſiſter (her name is Marian) is always ſo right and reaſonable, as ſhe proves to me that what I want now is inconſiſtent with what I wanted on ſome other occaſion, or would not do for me upon ſome former ſhowing of mine, or would not be proper with my poſition in the pariſh. Somehow I ſeem to walk between walls which I am ſaid to have helped to build myſelf. I ſhould rather like to look into the open country ſometimes. However, Marian is a good creature, and totally unconſcious of wiſhing to manage any one. I do not know what I ſhould do without her. Did ſhe ever look into a book, I would not ſay all that

* Πρὸς ἀνίκατε μάχαν—Soph. Ant. v. 781.

I have juſt ſaid, but it is quite confidential with the public.

My niece Lucy is my darling. I have educated her myſelf. I hope I have not done unwiſely, but I have taught her Greek; for I thought ſhe ſhould know ſomething of the ſtudy in which her father excelled, and be able to form ſome notion of his great powers of criticiſm. We often talk of him, and I think we are able to do this much better as ſhe knows more of what were his favourite ſtudies.

Lucy has long been a great favourite of Milverton's; and in former days (for he had then too the ſame theory he has given us in his eſſay on education, of the advantage of ſome training for women that ſhould ſternly exerciſe the reaſon) he eſſayed, I recollect, to teach her Euclid, which, conſidering he expected the moſt unreaſonably ſwift apprehenſion and progreſs, went off very well. I knew he would not take it ill, if I ſent her over in my place; and that ſhe would bring me back ſome report of the converſation. In this ſhe ſeems to have ſucceeded very well.

Milverton and Elleſmere were already out upon the lawn expecting me, when Lucy and her mother entered the gate at Worth Aſhton.

ELLESMERE. This is an honour, Miſs Daylmer. "Gratior it dies." Latin is not rude in the preſence of learned young ladies, you know.

MILVERTON. I hope, Mrs. Daylmer, there is nothing the matter with Dunsford.

MRS. DAYLMER. He is not well, I am ſorry to ſay, and ſo ſends Lucy to pick up what ſhe can for him of your talk to bring back and amuſe him with. I know you gentlemen will not care to have me with you: ſo I will go and chat with Phœbe, and ſee the new dairy. How can you both be ſo fooliſh as to be lying on the graſs, as you were when we came in. That is, I am ſure, the way in which my brother gets ill, and I ſhall not allow him to come over, if you dont take more care of him.

ELLESMERE. My good Mrs. Daylmer, if ſome twenty years ago you had kept our friend out of the Combination room at —— College, it might have been more to the purpoſe; for my opinion is that it is the gout and nothing elſe which—

LUCY. No, Mr. Elleſmere, my uncle ſays not.

ELLESMERE. I know he does not chooſe to call it by that name, I do not ſee why not. I always thought it was very reſpectable in the country to have the gout. But we have a long chapter before us, as I ſee from that ſolemn bulk of paper, and ſo we muſt not talk any more juſt now. You do not know, Miſs Daylmer, what you have before you to endure, or you would

have preferred to have had, yourſelf, a fit of the gout—at leaſt ſuch a fit as would not have prevented you from going to a dance the next day.

MILVERTON. Do not be frightened, Lucy; the ſubject for to-day's reading ſhall not be very terrific in the way of dulneſs; but ſhall rather touch on matters which any lady may like to conſider, and the regulation of which lies entirely within her province.

ELLESMERE (muttering to himſelf). "The ſuckling of fools," an eſſay by Leonard Milverton; "The chronicling of ſmall beer," an hiſtorical attempt by John Elleſmere. I am merely running over in my mind the catalogue of eſſays we keep by us, Miſs Daylmer, for the edification of our female friends, when they are good enough to honour our readings with their preſence.

MILVERTON. It is on the "art of living."

ELLESMERE. Oh, I had forgotten to mention that eſſay, Miſs Daylmer; that is our eſſay on cookery—the one we always begin with in reading to ladies; as Milverton ſaid, "entirely within their province." I wiſh they paid more attention to it; but people ſeldom do attend to things within their province.

MILVERTON. Do not mind his impertinence, Lucy.

LUCY. I am keeping my attention, Mr. Milverton, for what I am ſure I ſhall like better than even Mr. Elleſmere's witty ſayings. Pray do not let us detain you from beginning.

Mr. Milverton then read the following eſſay.

ON THE ART OF LIVING.

IT has often occurred to me to think how inappropriate is the eulogy of the moraliſt, or the preacher, on the life of the rich and powerful, when for the ſake of contraſt it is ſet up as if it were the height of human ſucceſs, at leaſt in the way in which it profeſſes to ſucceed. You would think, to hear a preacher of this kind, that the lives of people in the upper claſſes were ſomething really comfortable, genial and beautiful. To be ſure, he intimates that all this joy and beauty is likely to be paid for by ſome dire equivalent hereafter; but of its exiſtence here he entertains no doubt. To me, on the contrary, ſince my firſt entrance into ſociety, the life of thoſe who are conſidered to be the moſt highly favoured by the God of this world has always appeared poor, mean, joyleſs, and in ſome reſpects even ſqualid.

The cottage of a poor man is certainly a ſad affair to contemplate. Should an average ſpecimen of this kind of building of our date be dug up hereafter, when the world has largely

improved in theſe things, (if it does) this cottage will not give a very exalted idea of the civilization of the nineteenth century. But then, conſidering the narrowneſs of means of the owner, (for life, except with conſiderable dexterity and knowledge, cannot be made very beautiful, on an income varying from ſix ſhillings to twelve ſhillings a week) this cottage is not ſo bad. Its defects are negative, whereas the new-built houſe of a rich man often exemplifies a career of blunders.

Not only where maſſes of men are congregated together, but even in manſions built in ſolitary places, the proviſions for pure air, for water, and for the means of cleanlineſs of all kinds, are defective and abſurd; and even amongſt the moſt practical people in the world, ſcience is but beginning to be wedded to the arts of life. I think it may alſo be obſerved that, independently of theſe errors committed with regard to ſcientific matters, ſuch as change of air, maintenance of warmth and the ſupply of light; there is alſo a ſingular inaptitude of means to ends, which prevails generally throughout the human aids and appliances for living—I mean dreſs, houſes, equipages and houſehold furniture. The cauſes of this unſuitableneſs of means to ends lie very deep in human

nature and in the preſent form of human ſociety. I attribute them chiefly to the imitative nature of the great bulk of mankind and to the diviſion of labour, which latter practice being carried to a great extent in every civilized ſtate, renders a man expert in his own buſineſs, but timid even in judging of what he has not to make, but only to uſe. The reſult is, I believe, that more than half of what we do to procure good, is needleſs or miſchievous: in fact that more than half of the labour and capital of the world is waſted: in ſavage life, by not knowing how to compaſs what is neceſſary; in civilized life, by the purſuit of what is needleſs.

It is almoſt impoſſible to attribute too much effect to this quality of imitativeneſs, as moſt men rule their wants by next to no thought of their own, but ſimply by what they ſee around them. To give examples: there are very few cities, for inſtance, in the world where it would be more convenient to have porches, or covered entrances to the houſes, than in London. There cannot well be a city more devoid of ſuch things. Again, there can hardly be a more effectual arrangement for producing a rapid influx of cold air than a modern carriage; indeed it is conſtructed in every

way upon wrong principles. A perſon going to buy ſuch a thing would be glad to have ventilation without draught, to have a carriage roomy and yet light; but he is ſhown what is the faſhion and adopts it. Dreſs furniſhes a ſtill more ſtriking illuſtration of imitation carried to an extreme. Here, at the ſacrifice of comfort, time and money, we follow the ſchemes of vanity and uglineſs; and adopt permanently what were the fleeting notions of ſome of the moſt fooliſh of mankind. I can imagine that ſome of my readers who have never thought upon theſe ſubjects, would conteſt the point as regards the above inſtances; but I will give others which they cannot contend againſt.

Upon ſome occaſion in former days, perhaps upon a ſudden attack of a town, the great clock of the place, which they were probably putting up or mending, was left with one hand. This you would have imagined would have been conſidered a defect, and would have been remedied the firſt time the town became quiet. But no; like many other things, not having been finiſhed at the time it was begun, it remained unfiniſhed; after remaining long in that ſtate, people began to think that this defect was intentional; ſome

fooliſh perſon imitated it; in the race of folly there are always many runners, and the reſult in this particular caſe is, that there are ſcores of clocks ſet up in public places, which exerciſe the patience and the ingenuity of the hurried and vexed ſpectator who, if he has good eye ſight and ſome power of calculating, may make an approximation to the time which the two hands would have told him accurately at once. Another inſtance occurs to me of a ſimilar kind. There is a large and increaſing portion of the human ſpecies, who have to make conſtant reference to dictionaries. Now, there are two inſtances in the alphabet of two conſecutive letters, which were in former times one letter. The words beginning with theſe letters are often ſtill arranged as if they belonged to one letter. Hence, there conſtantly ariſes a confuſion in thoſe parts of the dictionary alluded to, which I will venture to ſay has coſt every ſtudious perſon much loſs of time and ſome loſs of temper, (for ſtudy does not always render the temper impregnable) and which loſs of time and temper they may attribute entirely to the unwiſe imitativeneſs which has led one maker of dictionaries to follow another maker of dictionaries in confounding his I's and his J's, his U's and his

V's, juſt as one ſheep ſucceeds another in jumping needleſsly over ſome imaginary obſtacle.

Another inſtance occurs to me. Travellers tell us that there is a nation very wiſe and thoughtful in many matters, who, neverthelefs, chooſe to have all their moſt important documents (ſuch, for example, as thoſe uſed in the conveyance of land) written upon leaves of ſuch extent that you can hardly hold them in both hands, and all along in one line, ſo that it is very difficult to go from line to line down the page. It is curious, however, to notice how injured humanity protects itſelf; for theſe documents are written in ſuch jargon, and ſo many unneceſſary words are put in, that it does not much matter whether you do ſkip a line, or not, in attempting to go regularly down the page. This people is very ſkilful in building boats and is perpetually trying improvements in that art; but as regards theſe wide pages of jargon, no race can be more contemptibly imitative and conſervative of wrong.

The above have chiefly been phyſical inſtances of the ill effects of imitation as regards the art of living; yet theſe are but trifling. Men might live with very fooliſh furniture around them,

with very ill-arranged dictionaries and worſe grammars, with very ridiculous equipages, with abſurdly ill-built houſes, noiſy and ſmoky, moſtly of one pattern and that a bad one, nay even in an ill-ventilated town, where every form of diſeaſe is riſing up and curling about them, which fortunately they do not ſee: in the midſt of all this, men might live happily, if all were well in their ſocial relations and ſocial intercourſe; if they had found out the art of living in theſe important reſpects. But, as it is, how poor a thing is ſocial intercourſe. How often in ſociety a man goes out from intereſted or vain motives, at moſt unſeaſonable hours, in very uncomfortable clothes, to ſit or ſtand in a conſtrained poſition, inhaling tainted air, ſuffering from great heat, and his ſole occupation or amuſement being to talk—only to talk. I do not mean to ſay that there are not delightful meetings in ſociety, which all who were preſent at remember afterwards, where the party has been well choſen, the hoſt and hoſteſs genial, (a matter of the firſt neceſſity) where wit has been kind as well as playful, where information has known how to be ſilent as well as how to ſpeak, where good-humour to the abſent as well as to the preſent, has aſſured the company that they

were among good people, where oſtentation has gone away to ſome more gilded rooms, and where a certain feeling of regard and confidence has ſpread throughout the company, ſo that each man has ſpoken out from his heart. But theſe are ſadly rare; they are days, as the Romans would ſay, to be marked with chalk; and it would not fatigue any man to mark thoſe which he himſelf has experienced. The main current of ſociety is very dreary and dull, and not the leſs ſo for its reſtleſſneſs. The chief hindrances to its improvement are of a moral nature, and may be placed under the following heads.

Theſe hindrances to the pleaſure and profit of ſociety (and by ſociety I do not mean the ſociety of the great world, as we call it, but the humbleſt and ſmalleſt reunions down to the domeſtic circle) theſe hindrances may be thus enumerated—want of truth, vanity, ſhyneſs, imitation, fooliſh concern about trifles, want of faithfulneſs to ſociety, which leads to repetition and publicity, habits of ridicule and puritanical notions.

I began my liſt with want of truth, which I have always contended is as fatal, if not more ſo, to enjoyment as it is to buſineſs. From want of the boldneſs which truth requires, people are

driven into uncongenial ſociety, into many modes of needleſs and painful oſtentation, and into various pretences, excuſes and all ſorts of vexatious diſſimulation. The ſpirit of barter is carried into the amuſements and enjoyments of life; and, as in buſineſs, the want of truth prevents you often from knowing what the perſon you are dealing with, really wiſhes and means, ſo in pleaſure, you are equally unable to know whether you are gratifying others; and you offer what is not wanted and what you do not wiſh to offer, to one who accepts it only from the fear of giving offence to you.

Shyneſs comes next in our catalogue, for I believe if moſt young perſons were to tell us what they had ſuffered from ſhyneſs upon their entrance into ſociety, it would well deſerve to be placed next to want of truth as a hindrance to the enjoyment of ſociety. Now, admitting that there is a certain degree of graceful modeſty mixed up with this ſhyneſs, very becoming in the young, there is at the ſame time a great deal of needleſs care about what others think and ſay. In fact it proceeds from a painful egotiſm, ſharpened by needleſs ſelf-examinations and fooliſh imaginations in which the ſhy youth or maiden is tor-

mented by his or her perſonality, and is haunted by imagining that he or ſhe is the centre of the circle —the obſerved of all obſervers. The great cauſe of this ſhyneſs is not ſufficiently accuſtoming children to ſociety, or making them ſuppoſe that their conduct in it is a matter of extreme importance, and eſpecially in urging them from their earlieſt youth by this moſt injurious of all ſayings, If you do this or that, what will be ſaid, what will be thought of you?—thus referring the child not to religion, not to wiſdom, not to virtue, not even to the opinion of thoſe whoſe opinion ought to have weight, but to the opinion of whatever ſociety he may chance to come into. I often think that the parent, guardian, or teacher, who has happily omitted to inſtil this vile prudential conſideration, or enabled the child to reſiſt it, even if he, the teacher, has omitted much good advice and guidance, has ſtill done better than that teacher or parent who has filled the child to the brim with good moral conſiderations, and yet has allowed this one piece of arrant worldlineſs to creep in. We are now, however, only conſidering its injurious effect as regards the enjoyment of ſociety, which nobody can doubt.

I have ſpoken of vanity as one of the moral

hindrances to the pleaſure and profit to be derived from ſociety. There is a certain degree of vanity which often accompanying good animal ſpirits, prompts a man to endeavour to pleaſe and to ſhine in ſociety; but any conſiderable extent of vanity is likely to be injurious to the peace of ſociety. Under the influence of this paſſion, a man demands much, gives little, is eaſily offended, apt to be diſhoneſt in converſation, and altogether is ſo prone to be ſmall minded, reſtleſs and unjuſt, that I think vanity muſt be looked upon as a great hindrance to the welfare of ſocial intercourſe.

I come now to fooliſh concern about trifles—a beſetting error in highly civilized communities. In theſe ſocieties, there are many things both phyſical and intellectual, which are outwardly complete, highly poliſhed and varniſhed; much too is in its proper place, and correſponds with what it ought to correſpond to,

"Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,"

that at laſt there comes a morbid excitement to have every little thing and circumſtance ſquare and neat, which neither nature nor man will allow. Hence the pleaſure of viſits and enter-

tainments, and in general the plans and projects of ſocial intercourſe are at the mercy of ſmall accidents, abſurd cares and trifling offences. When this care for ſmall things is combined with an intenſe fear of the opinion of others, a ſtate of mind is generated which will neither allow the poſſeſſor of it to be happy in himſelf, or herſelf, nor permit thoſe about him or her to enjoy any peace or comfort for long. It is of courſe a pre-eminent hindrance to the bleſſing of ſocial intercourſe.

The next hindrance I ſhall mention is one rarely commented upon, but which I maintain to be very important—want of faithfulneſs to ſociety. A man ſhould conſider that in whatever company he is thrown, there are certain duties incident upon him in reſpect of that aſſociation. The firſt of theſe is reticence about what he hears in that ſociety. We ſee this as regards the intercourſe of intimate friends. If your friend in a quiet walk with you were to tell you of ſome of his inner troubles and vexations, you would not conſider yourſelf at liberty to mention theſe things in general ſociety the next day. So, in all ſocial intercourſe, there is an implied faithfulneſs of the members of the ſociety, one to another; and if this faithfulneſs were well maintained, not only would a great deal of

pain and miſchief be prevented, but men knowing that they were ſurrounded by people with a nice ſenſe of honour in this reſpect, would be more frank and explicit in all they ſaid and did. As it is, a thoughtful and kind-hearted man is often obliged to make his diſcourſe very barren leſt it ſhould be repeated to a circle for whom it was not intended, by whom it could not be underſtood, and who can rarely have before them the circumſtance which led to its being uttered. The fault of indiſcreet publication is very prevalent in the preſent day; and has, I have no doubt, thrown a general conſtraint over all communications, perſonal or by letter, amongſt thoſe very perſons with whom unconſtrained communication would be moſt valuable.

I paſs to another hindrance to the well being of ſocial intercourſe, namely, the habit of ridicule. There is a light, jeſting, flippant, unkind mode of talking about things and perſons very common in ſociety, exceedingly different from wit, which ſtifles good converſation and gives a ſenſe of general hoſtility rather than ſociability—as if men came together chiefly for the purpoſe of ridiculing their neighbours and of talking ſlightly about matter

of great concern. I am not ſure that this conduct in ſociety is not a reſult rather than a cauſe,—a reſult of vanity, want of truth, want of faithfulneſs and other hindrances which we have been conſidering. It certainly beſpeaks a lamentable want of charity, and ſhows that thoſe who indulge in it are ſadly ignorant of the dignity of ſocial intercourſe and of what a grand thing it might be.

Laſtly, there is the want of ſomething to do beſides talking, which muſt be put down as one of the greateſt drawbacks to the pleaſantneſs, as well as uſefulneſs, of ſocial intercourſe. Puritanical notions have gone ſome way in occaſioning this want by forbidding many innocent or indifferent amuſements. But I ſuſpect that anybody who ſhould ſtudy human nature much, would find that it was one of the moſt dangerous amuſements to bring people together to talk who have but little to ſay. The more variety men have in their amuſements the better; and I confeſs that I am one of thoſe who think that games are often very good inſtructors of mankind and as little miſchievous as anything elſe they do.

But this conſideration of the want of ſomething

to do beſides talking, leads naturally to that branch of the art of living which is connected with accompliſhments. In this we have hitherto been ſingularly neglectful; and our poor and arid education has often made time hang heavy on our hands, given opportunity for ſcandal, occaſioned domeſtic diſſenſion, and prevented the juſt enjoyment we ſhould have had of the gifts of nature. More large and general cultivation of muſic, of the fine arts, of manly and graceful exerciſes, of various minor branches of ſcience and natural philoſophy, will I am perſuaded, enhance greatly the pleaſure of ſociety, and mainly in this, that it will fill up that want of ſomething to do beſides talking, which is ſo grievouſly felt at preſent. A group of children, with their nurſery chairs as playthings, are often able to make a better and pleaſanter evening of it than an aſſembly of fine people in London, where nobody has anything to do, where nothing is going on but vapid converſation, where the ladies dare not move freely about, and where a good chorus, a childiſh game, or even the liberty to work or read, would be a perfect Godſend to the whole aſſembly. This however is but a very ſmall part of the advantage and aid to the art of living which would flow from a

greatly-widened baſis of education in accompliſh-ments and what are now deemed minor ſtudies. I am perſuaded that the whole of life would be beautified and vivified by them; and one great advantage which I do not fear to repeat, though I have urged it two or three times before in different places, is that from this variety of cultivation various excellencies would be developed in perſons whoſe natures not being ſuitable for the few things cultivated and rewarded at preſent, are thick with thorns and briars, and preſent the appearance of waſte land, whereas if ſown with the fit ſeed and tended in a proper manner, they would come into ſome ſort of cultivation, would bring forth ſomething good, perhaps ſomething which is excellent of its kind. Such people who now lie ſunk in ſelf-diſreſpect, would become uſeful, or ornamental, and therefore genial; they would be an aſſiſtance to ſociety inſtead of a weight upon it.

Another great matter as regards the art of living is the art of living with inferiors. A houſe may be ever ſo well arranged for domeſtic and ſocial comfort, the principal inmates of it well-diſpoſed and accompliſhed people, their circumſtances of life felicitous; yet if there is a want of that har-

mony which ſhould extend throughout every houſe, embracing all the members of the houſehold, there is an under current of vexation ſufficient to infect and deaden all the above-named advantages. To obviate this, is one of the great difficulties of modern life, a difficulty not only great in itſelf but largely aggravated by miſmanagement for many generations. In dealing with ſervants, we have to deal with ſome of the worſt-educated people in the country—not only ill-inſtructed for the peculiar functions they have to undertake, but ill-educated both in mind and ſoul, and having all the inſubordination of extreme ignorance. This will improve however; and perhaps one of the greateſt rewards the rich will enjoy for having of late years encouraged and facilitated education amongſt the poor, will ariſe from their being furniſhed with a wiſer, more amiable, and therefore more governable ſet of dependants. The duties of maſters, too, are often moſt inadequately fulfilled, ſo that a man who wiſhes to act rightly in this reſpect often finds that he has to work upon bad material which has already been badly treated. Still, with all theſe diſadvantages, it is ſurpriſing how much may be done with ſervants by firmneſs, kindneſs, geniality

and juſt familiarity. Under the head of kindneſs I ſhould particularly wiſh to include full employment. The maſter who keeps one ſervant more than he has abſolutely need for, is not only a miſchief to ſociety, but is unkind to that ſervant and to all his fellow-ſervants; for what is more cruel to a vacant mind than to leave it half-employed.

A maſter ſuch as I would have him, ſhould not only exerciſe paſſive kindneſs but active kindneſs towards his ſervants, ſhould intereſt himſelf in their relationſhips, partake their hopes and fears, be watchful to provide amuſements for them, and ſhould look upon them as his children once or twice removed. Inſtances of ingratitude and intractability, partial defeats as well as partial ſucceſſes, ſuch a man will be ſure to meet with; but at any rate, he will have done his beſt to produce that harmony in his houſehold which, viewed merely with regard to the enjoyment of life, muſt be looked upon as one of the moſt deſirable attainments in the art of living.

It may be thought that in the courſe of this eſſay the ends propoſed have not been very great, and that too much mention has been made of

ſuch words as enjoyment. But at leaſt the means propoſed have not been ignoble ones; and I am convinced that in the furtherance of the art of living, true enjoyment would be often found to march hand in hand with economy, with truth, and eſpecially with kindneſs and thoughtfulneſs for thoſe around us. Benevolent people of the preſent day are conſtantly inveſtigating the life of the poorer claſſes, in order to make it more comely, more dignified, more enjoyable. There is no doubt that much may be done in this direction; but I contend that the ſtandard of what is beautiful in living requires to be raiſed generally, and it ſeems to me that the life of the poor will not be well arranged, while that of ſo many of the rich remains vapid, inſincere, unenjoyable and unadorned.

ELLESMERE. I agree with you in all you have ſaid in diſpraiſe. The many failures of civilized life make one long for ſomething more free and wider; and would prove one of the main incentives to colonization, except

that people find out the insipidity of civilized life when they are too stiff and rooted to think of going to a young colony. I was quite surprised the other day to find even in such a writer as Sydney Smith, who, I should have imagined, would have been pretty well satisfied with the present state of things in our old world, a sentence or two intimating that he conceived how people might go into distant climes to get rid of some of the nuisances of civilization,—a passage, in fact, which reminded me of that in Eothen, where the traveller exclaims, "The "first night of your first campaign, (though you be but "a mere peaceful campaigner) is a glorious time in "your life. It is so sweet to find oneself free from the "stale civilization of Europe! Oh, my dear ally! when "first you spread your carpet in the midst of these east- "ern scenes, do think for a moment of those your fel- "low creatures, that dwell in squares, and streets, and "even (for such is the fate of many!) in actual country "houses; think of the people that are 'presenting their "compliments' and 'requesting the honour,' and 'much "regretting,'—of those that are pinioned at dinner ta- "bles, or stuck up in ball rooms, or cruelly planted in "pews—ay, think of these, and so remembering how "many poor devils are living in a state of utter respec- "tability, you will glory the more in your own delight- "ful escape."

Milverton. On the other hand, I often feel how much might be made of society here. Whenever you go into any neighbourhood, or penetrate into any small

circle of ſociety, you are ſurpriſed at the agreeable people there are in that quarter—ſuch people as you thought belonged only to your own particular circle. Yet it ſeems as if there was a want of ſome maſter mind devoted to the arts of ſocial life, which ſhould bring out the good qualities of thoſe around it, and ſun them into more active being.

Ellesmere. This is all meant to be carried home, Miſs Daylmer, to the Grange, that your uncle may be induced to believe that Milverton thinks there are civiliſed people even in theſe remote parts of the earth, but you know better.

Lucy. Having only heard that part of the wit and wiſdom of London which you, Mr. Elleſmere and Mr. Milverton, bring down to us occaſionally, I cannot pretend to judge of its intellectual reſources; but I recollect, when I was reading the life of Sir Walter Scott, that on ſome occaſion of his being in town, he dined with a company whom he called the wits, a ſhort time afterwards at a dinner-party of lawyers, a day or two after that at a dinner-party of biſhops; and he ſays that the lawyers beat the wits, and the biſhops the lawyers. Now we have plenty of clergymen about here, and it is from clergymen that biſhops are made. For my own part, I am afraid that I am ſimple enough to prefer the ſociety of the old women and children whom I go to viſit in our pariſh to all that London could give me.

Ellesmere. Ah, you would find that moſt of us had

forgotten our Greek, Miſs Daylmer, and that we ſhould form but indifferent companions to a modern verſion of Lady Jane Grey.

MILVERTON. Do not anſwer him any more, Lucy: you ſee he is obliged to have recourſe to perſonalities.

ELLESMERE. Juſt as if that Scott ſtory was not aimed at me. But, Milverton, you were going to ſay ſomething.

MILVERTON. Yes. I was going to ſay that I do not think ſufficient credit is given to people for eminence in ſocial qualities. To take an inſtance, you know our old college friend ———. Well, you know what a ſerviceable man he is in ſociety, how ſure he is in any company to promote the happineſs and amuſement of all around him. His wit, Lucy, is of the lambent and not of the forked kind: it lights up every topic with grace and variety, and it hurts nobody. I ſuppoſe no one ever left his company aggrieved by any ſaying of his. Very often you can carry away nothing that he has ſaid, for his humour has been continuous, and a pailfull of water from any river will no more give a notion of its beauty than a quotation from his converſation of its richneſs, grace and drollery. I do not know whether —— is, or will be, ſucceſsful in his profeſſion; that greatly depends upon other people; but to my mind he is a ſucceſsful man. If he does not, however, obtain profeſſional ſucceſs, he may have all the graces and merits in the world, moſt people will pronounce his life a failure. Then you have ſome man of keen intellect, eminently diſagreeable, living on the abuſes of his age.—

ELLESMERE. Do not be perſonal, Milverton.

MILVERTON. And this man makes an abundance of money or gains great ſtation, and you run after him and ſhout his praiſes and deſire to have his countenance on canvaſs or in marble. When I look round upon ſome of the ſtatues in the world, I am afraid of the indignation and contempt which riſe up in my mind.

ELLESMERE. Whew! It is pretty evident that our preſiding friend Dunsford is not here. When theſe outwardly calm and placid men do break out, Miſs Daylmer, it is ſomewhat volcanic.

LUCY. I have heard my uncle ſay, Mr. Elleſmere, that he prefers downright anger to a ſneer.

ELLESMERE. How, womanlike, ſomebody always ſhelters herſelf behind the ſayings of ſome one elſe.

MILVERTON. I need not have expreſſed myſelf ſo warmly—nor ſo unjuſtly; for nobody pretends that notoriety, the cauſe of many a ſtatue being ſet up, is a ſure meaſure of merit.

LUCY. Never mind, Mr. Milverton; I will only repeat to my uncle juſt ſo much of your outbreak as will enable him to underſtand Mr. Elleſmere's ill-nature and ſarcaſm.

ELLESMERE. Equitable, certainly: a ruſtic Daniel come to judgment! This is the way I am always treated here; none of you will buy a buſt of me, it is clear.

But to go back to the ſubject. If you are not quite ſatisfied with the ſtate of ſociety in this country, do you know of any other people who fulfil better your idea of

the art of living, or who might do ſo. The Spaniards, for inſtance, I have heard you frequently praiſe them for various things. Do they make life ſo very ſucceſsful a tranſaction?

MILVERTON. I have been but too ſhort a time in their country to ſpeak with any confidence, but I will give you my impreſſions.

ELLESMERE. You may ſee a great deal of people in travelling with them and amongſt them; though of courſe there are things in a foreign country, which you may utterly miſunderſtand, or paſs by, if you do not get into ſociety, and that, of courſe, requires time.

MILVERTON. They ſeemed to me a moſt intelligent people—admirably courteous, without any of the mere grimace of courteſy—very courageous, as many a ſtory of their late wars will teſtify—and, altogether, I muſt ſay, not unlike ourſelves, eſpecially the Caſtilians, except that they are more courteous, and leſs enterpriſing: and to anſwer ſpecially the queſtion you firſt addreſſed to me about them, I think they bid fair to underſtand the art of living as well as any nation on the earth.

ELLESMERE. Well, how is it that they make ſuch a bad buſineſs of it in the way of government?

MILVERTON. Nations, like individuals, have what, for want of a more pious name, we may call, their fortune, good and ill. Theſe people have had a ſeries of untoward circumſtances to contend againſt—their monarchs holding other dominions—too much gold coming in upon them from the Indies and ſtanding in the way of home culture and domeſtic enterpriſe—then diſputed

ſucceſſions for many many years--their conteſts at preſent having little or no principle in them, but being chiefly perſonal conteſts. Theſe things, or things like them, they uſed to ſay to me themſelves.

Ellesmere. They were aware then of their political ſtate?

Milverton. Thoroughly. Moreover, in all claſſes, as far as I ſaw, the national feeling is very ſtrong. I have before me now the elaborate bow which a muleteer, with whom I was coming from the Eſcurial, made to me on my happening in converſation about his country to utter ſome juſt praiſe of it. He ran on from my ſide before me to the middle of the road and receiving me, as it were, made a bow of which this is but a very faint and angular repreſentation.

Ellesmere. Well, their time may come again.

Milverton. If you mean for national pre-eminence, I do not know that I wiſh it for them. Of courſe one would wiſh the government to be much more ſtable and well directed than it has been. But withal, the bulk of the people at preſent ſeems to me anything but ill off. Theſe ſouthern nations have a way of enjoying life and a power of lazy contentment not altogether to be deſpiſed.

But to go back for a moment to their intelligence. The general converſation in a diligence was almoſt always good. I have tried, for the purpoſe of learning the language, to get them to give me the diſtinctions between words nearly allied--ſuch as in Engliſh, pretty, handſome, beautiful, elegant, the proper uſe of which it would require ſome nicety to explain to a foreigner.

ELLESMERE. And they managed it well.

MILVERTON. Yes. Another thing ſtruck me much. As far as I could ſee, they are an accurate people, not pretending to underſtand things before they do. I always augur much from that in a man, or in a people.

ELLESMERE. As to the country itſelf, I ſuppoſe that is magnificent. Tell us ſomething about it; but do not be voluminous. I very ſoon get tired of hearing other people's travels. Tell us, for inſtance, about the Cathedral at Seville, the town of Cadiz and the Alhambra.

MILVERTON. Well, the three things you have juſt mentioned did not loſe any of their hold on the imagination by being ſeen. They quite came up to what has been ſaid of them.

ELLESMERE. The Mooriſh architecture delighted you then?

MILVERTON. Yes: not only in their palaces but in their houſes. Thoſe Moors knew well that important part of the art of living which conſiſts in building a houſe, therein being very ſuperior to the Frankiſh nations.

ELLESMERE. It is very well to tell us, as you did juſt now, that things come up to the deſcriptions of them, which is like a noveliſt "drawing a veil" over the feelings of his hero and heroine, when they become troubleſome and difficult to deſcribe. But now ſit down again, and deſcribe to Miſs Daylmer and me what the Alhambra is like. I have read no deſcription. I never do read ſuch things. Miſs Daylmer has, I ſuppoſe; for every earthly thing is in Pinnock.

Lucy. I am ſure, Mr. Milverton, you cannot reſiſt ſuch an encouraging invitation to deſcribe. I will engage to put aſide all the information I have derived from Pinnock, and will liſten, like the dutiful pupil I once was to you, with the proper blankneſs of mind which Mr. Elleſmere vouches for himſelf.

Milverton. Well, come with me then in imagination to the Generalife, not a part of the Alhambra, but another palace cloſe to it and more elevated, the ſummer palace of the Mooriſh kings, built exactly in the ſame ſtyle as the Alhambra. We will imagine ourſelves to have got to the higheſt point of it, or to be looking down from the gallery which faces ſouthwards. Beneath us, far beneath us, at the baſe of the palace, lies the town, in itſelf an object of great beauty. To the left, ſtill cloſe to us, the rocks down there have holes in them, the habitations of the gipſies. Beyond is the beautiful Vega, a vaſt green plain with water running through it. The whole ſcene is encloſed by mountains, forming an amphitheatre ſuch as we might think fit for the tournament of the world, or rather for the world's empire to be fought for. Weſtward, the ſun, as I ſaw it, is declining over the mountains: we look to the eaſt and high up above us and ſeemingly cloſe to us, lies the Sierra Nevada, its ſnows coloured by the ſetting ſun. Fed by that perpetual ſnow, ſtreams are ruſhing through the elevated court where we ſtand, and are then ſeen courſing down the gardens and bubbling over the fountains, making their way to the green Vega. The luxury of Heat and the luxury of Cold meet here: and find rooms worthy ſuch

great powers to revel in. Here (and how rare it is) man, inſtead of defacing nature, has adorned it. Theſe light columns; this profuſion of ornament which yet never intrudes; this aptitude of the building for the climate and the people and the place, makes us not aſhamed of our fellow men having built there. I ſtrive to ſee it all again; but there are ſome things I cannot ſee: and yet I turned and looked and came again, and looked again and tried to impreſs it on my brain that it might be with me ſometimes hereafter.

Lucy. But you kept a diary.

Milverton. No, Lucy; nor would I if I were to go again. It is not words that will do. I could write many words about it now, but they would not bring back to me what I want, though they might have ſome appropriateneſs. I thought of this the other day when I was looking over your copy of Milnes's poems. I know he is a great favourite of yours. There is a ſonnet giving the advice which I had already taken.

Lucy. "Leſſon to poets?"

Milverton. Yes, that is the title I think: only it muſt be adapted in my caſe to proſe writers. But do you recollect it, Lucy, well enough to give Elleſmere any notion of it.

Lucy. I do recollect it, I believe, but I do not much like repeating it, becauſe Mr. Elleſmere will be ſure to tear it to pieces, if he is not in the humour to hear it, and though I do not mind what he ſays to me, I do not like to have any favourite bit of poetry ſhaken about in his critical mouth as that bit of cloth is by Rollo.

ELLESMERE. Upon my word, Attic maiden, you are very unfair: juſt as if, too, it were anything remarkable, a man's criticiſm depending upon his humours.

MILVERTON. He deſerves the ſonnet for that ſatire on his own tribe, Lucy.

LUCY.

" Try not, or murmur not if tried in vain,
" In fair rememberable words to ſet
" Each ſcene or preſcience of eſpecial gain,
" As hoarded gems in precious cabinet.
" Simply enjoy the preſent lovelineſs;—
" Let it become a portion of your being;
" Cloſe your glad gaze, but ſee it none the leſs,
" No clearer with your eye, than ſpirit, ſeeing.
" And, when you part at laſt, turn once again,
" Swearing that beauty ſhall be unforgot:
" So in far ſorrows it ſhall eaſe your pain,
" In diſtant ſtruggles it ſhall calm your ſtrife,
" And in your further and ſerener life,
" Who ſays that it ſhall be remembered not?"

MILVERTON. It is excellent advice. If you make too much of diary-keeping, you blur every beautiful ſight by thinking what you ſhall write about it.

Here Mrs. Daylmer entered; the converſation took another turn; and after ſome mock ſalutations of great courteſy between my niece and Elleſmere, upon her receiving ſome ironical meſſages ſe[illegible]y him to me, ſhe came away to give me the Eſſa[illegible]d to relate the above converſation.

CHAPTER IV.

We had found our former reading on the downs ſo pleaſant, that we reſolved to wander forth again for our next; and when the day came, as I had by this time recovered my uſual health, Milverton propoſed that we ſhould go to a mill at no great diſtance, called Bender's Mill, and have our reading on a knoll which overlooked the iſſuing waters. Elleſmere had come down the previous evening, and Lucy and I joined the party at breakfaſt, ſo that we were ready early to ſet out on our excurſion. As we went along through the cloſe lanes near Worth Aſhton, I happened to remark the beauty of the hedges there.

Milverton. Yes, replied Milverton, I think that the hedges are amongſt the moſt beautiful things we have in the country. Look at that mixture of hazel and maple: what a variety of form and colour! And then the cluſtering clematis, like garlands thrown over the reſt. See, too, the more delicate underwood of the hedge, the fern here and there, the wild ſtrawberry, the

fox-glove and all the other things we do not know the names of, but which ſome Linnæus, (would we had one here!) could talk to us for hours about. I have often thought that, taken altogether, ſuch a hedge as this is a picture of human life—beautiful and complete in its bold variety, whereas men would have one ſturdy quickſet of the ſame height and colour—both in their fellow-men and in their hedges.

Ellesmere. Now we are off upon our ſimilitudes. I thought it ſoon would be ſo. My dear fellow, cannot you look at a bit of nature and enjoy it for itſelf, without troubling yourſelf about reſemblances and bringing in men on all occaſions?

Milverton. I do not look out for reſemblances: they at once occur to me. No wall riſes up before me between the beautiful in inanimate nature and in the ways of men. You muſt take me as I am.

Ellesmere. Well, I muſt not be particular then: I *will* take you as you are; only come and ſit down on this ſtile. You country people all walk ſo furiouſly. May we ſay, without offence, that the walking part of the human body is that which receives the moſt culture in the country? Not, of courſe, that I mean in the moſt diſtant way to inſinuate that—

Dunsford. Oh no, certainly not—pray do not go any further in the ſentence. We know the reſpect you have for our intellects.

Lucy. Do you know, Mr. Milverton, that poor Carter is dead? He died laſt week.

MILVERTON. What, my poor old friend who lived in that cottage there, and with whom I have had many a long talk about the crops and the weather. Ah me! he was not a very wiſe man; yet now, perhaps, he knows much more than the wiſeſt of us who are left. I have often thought, Dunsford, when any of thoſe whom we conſider common-place people die—how at once they come in our minds to be regarded as ſuperior beings. They know ſo much more than they did, we think; they look down upon us, as we fancy; they could tell us ſo much. Great is our reverence for the dead.

I ought to have known there was ſomething the matter with the old man, not ſeeing him this fine day at his accuſtomed place in the porch.

LUCY. Don't you feel ſometimes, Mr. Milverton, when there is a very very fine day like this, as if ſomething were going to happen—ſomething quite unforeſeen and very joyous—out of the common way, you know.

ELLESMERE. As Milverton is ſilent, Miſs Daylmer, I will anſwer for him. We are getting into the middle-aged and full-coloured, if not into the "ſere and yellow," leaf; and are not given to the tranſports which belong to hopeful young buds and bloſſoms. When it is a fine warm day like this, we rejoice—that it is not cold.

MILVERTON. Do not believe him, Lucy, we are not quite ſo proſaic, yet.

ELLESMERE. Do look at that little ſhepherd boy

ſtaring at us. Depend upon it, our coming here is *the* event of the day to him.

MILVERTON. I wonder how thoſe urchins get through the hours.

ELLESMERE. Dinner, though but bread and cheeſe, muſt be the great pivot for their thoughts to turn upon. Now, it is ſo many hours to dinner. That is a fact which may be dwelt upon. Then dinner comes. After that, there is a ſort of ruſh of the thoughts into ſpace: for as yet ſupper is not on the horizon. Then ſtrange images are ſought out in the ſcudding clouds; dim recollections of a mother or a playmate loſt young ſucceed, or, perhaps—but we will not go on imagining; let us try what we can make out of our young friend there, and ſee what he does think of.

DUNSFORD. Here, my boy.

ELLESMERE. Your dogs and ours ſeem to agree very well, my little man.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees: they knaowed one another afore.

ELLESMERE. What a fine day it is for you to-day.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees.

ELLESMERE. But I ſuppoſe, whether it is fine or not, you are out all day long with the ſheep.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees.

ELLESMERE. Heus, amici, multo magis arduum eſt colloqui cum ruſticis, quam argutis quæſtionibus veritatem e teſtibus non volentibus extorquere!

DUNSFORD. Teſtibus non volentibus!

ELLESMERE. Oh, never mind the Latin. But let us proceed. And do you like the ſummer days better than the winter days, my little fellow?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. They be warmer.

ELLESMERE. And how do you get through the days?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. I doant know.

ELLESMERE. I dare ſay, you find them ſometimes very long.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Noa. Johnny Hewſome do come up moſt afternoons to ſee I.

ELLESMERE. Humph! Is Johnny Hewſome a bigger boy than you?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Noa—We be much of the ſame ſoize.

ELLESMERE. Well, you can buy ſomething with this for you and Johnny Hewſome to play with. Good bye.

We then walked on, leaving the boy pulling vigorouſly at his hair.

ELLESMERE. "Johnny Hewſome do come up moſt afternoons to ſee I." There lies the ſavour of life to our young friend. Without it, all would be "lees," as Macbeth would ſay. Well, it is very beautiful to ſee the friendſhip of theſe little animals. I think there is more friendſhip at that time of life than at any other. They are then evenly-formed creatures, like bricks, which can be laid cloſe to one another. The grown-

up man is like a fortreſs, angular-ſhaped, with a moat round it, ſtanding alone.

LUCY. Who is it that is now involved in metaphors?

ELLESMERE. I ſuppoſe all of us have, at one time or other, had a huge longing after friendſhip. If one could get it, it would be much ſafer than that other thing.

MILVERTON. Well; I wonder whether love, for I imagine you mean love, was ever ſo deſcribed before, "that other thing!"

ELLESMERE. When the world was younger, perhaps there was more of this friendſhip. David and Jonathan! How does their friendſhip begin? I know it is very beautiful; but I have forgotten the words. Dunſford will tell us.

DUNSFORD. "And Saul ſaid to him, Whoſe ſon art "thou, thou young man? And David anſwered I am "the ſon of thy ſervant Jeſſe the Bethlehemite.

"And it came to paſs, when he had made an end of "ſpeaking unto Saul, that the ſoul of Jonathan was "knit with the ſoul of David, and Jonathan loved him "as his own ſoul."

ELLESMERE. Now that men are more complex, they would require ſo much. For inſtance, if I were to have a friend, he muſt be an uncommunicative man; that limits me to about thirteen or fourteen people in the world. It is only with a man of perfect reticence that you can ſpeak completely without reſerve. We talk together far more openly than moſt people; but there

is ſkilful fencing even in our talk. We are not inclined to ſay the whole of what we think.

MILVERTON. What I ſhould need in a friend would be a certain breadth of nature; I have no ſympathy with people who can diſturb themſelves about ſmall things, who crave the world's good opinion, are anxious to prove themſelves always in the right, can be immerſed in perſonal talk or devoted to ſelf-advancement, who ſeem to have grown up entirely from the *earth*, whereas even the plants draw moſt of their ſuſtenance from the air of heaven.

ELLESMERE. That is a high flight: I am not prepared to ſay all that. I do not object to a little earthineſs. What I ſhould fear in friendſhip, is the comment and interference and talebearing I often ſee connected with it.

MILVERTON. That does not particularly belong to friendſhip, but comes under the general head of injudicious comment on the part of thoſe who live with us. Divines often remind us, that, in forming our ideas of the government of Providence, we ſhould recollect that we ſee only a fragment. The ſame obſervation, in its degree, is true too, as regards human conduct. We ſee a little bit here and there, and aſſume the nature of the whole. Even a very ſilly man's actions are often more to the purpoſe than his friends' comments upon them.

ELLESMERE. True. Then I ſhould not like to have a man for a friend who would bind me down to be

conſiſtent, who would form a minute theory of me which was not to be contradicted.

MILVERTON. If he loved you as his own ſoul, and his ſoul were knit with yours, to uſe the words of Scripture, he would not demand this conſiſtency, becauſe each man muſt know and feel his own immeaſurable vacillation and inconſiſtency, and if he had complete ſympathy with another, he would not be greatly ſurpriſed or vexed at that other's inconſiſtencies.

DUNSFORD. There always ſeems to me a want of tenderneſs in what are called friendſhips in the preſent day. Now, for inſtance, I don't underſtand a man ridiculing his friend. The joking of intimates often appears to me coarſe and harſh. You will laugh at this in me, and think it rather effeminate, I am afraid.

MILVERTON. No; I do not. I think there may be a great deal of jocoſe raillery paſs between intimates without the requiſite tenderneſs being infringed upon. If my friend had been in a painful and ludicrous poſition (ſuch as when Cardinal Balue in full dreſs is run away with on horſeback, which Scott comments upon as one of a claſs of ſituations combining "pain, peril, and abſurdity") I would not remind him of it. Why ſhould I bring back a diſagreeable impreſſion to his mind? Beſides, it would be more painful than ludicrous to me. I ſhould enter into his feelings rather than into thoſe of the ordinary ſpectator.

DUNSFORD. I am glad we are of the ſame mind in this.

MILVERTON. I have alſo a notion that even in the common friendſhips of the world, we ſhould be very ſtaunch defenders of our abſent friends. Suppoſing that our friend's character or conduct is juſtly attacked in our hearing upon ſome point, we ſhould be careful to let the light and worth of the reſt of his character in upon the company, ſo that they ſhould go away with ſomething of the impreſſion that we have of him: inſtead of ſuffering them to dwell only upon this fault or foible that was commented upon, which was as nothing againſt him in our hearts, mere fringe to the character, which we were accuſtomed to, and rather liked than otherwiſe, if the truth muſt be told.

ELLESMERE. I declare we have made out amongſt us an eſſay on friendſhip, without the fuſs of writing one. I always told you our talk was better than your writing, Milverton. Now we only want a beginning and ending to this peripatetic eſſay. What would you ſay to this as a beginning: it is to be a ſtately, pompous plunge into the ſubject, after the Milverton faſhion. "Friendſhip and the Phœnix, taking into due account "the Fire-Office of that name, have been found upon "the earth in not unſimilar abundance." I flatter myſelf that "not unſimilar abundance" is eminently Milvertonian.

MILVERTON. Now obſerve, Dunsford, you were ſpeaking ſome time ago about the joking of intimates being frequently unkind. This is juſt an inſtance to the contrary. Elleſmere, who is not a bad fellow, at

leaſt not ſo bad as he ſeems, knows that he can ſay any thing he pleaſes about my ſtyle of writing without much annoying me. I am not very vulnerable on theſe points: but all the while there is a titillating pleaſure to him in being all but impertinent and vexatious to a friend. And he enjoys that. So do I.

Ellesmere. I vow it is very ſpiteful of you, Milverton, to be ſhowing Dunsford that there is leſs ſpite in me than he imagined; wearing me about you like a tame ſerpent with the poiſon taken out of him. I won't be made out ſo amiable. I ſhall not admit that I didn't know that I could not teaſe you upon theſe ſubjects.

With pleaſant talk of this kind, we reached our deſtination, the mill; and after ſeating ourſelves on the graſſy hillock near it, Milverton read the following eſſay.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE RURAL POOR.

COMING out from the crowded city and looking upon ſome ſnug ſequeſtered village, amid ſweet ſmells and cheerful ſounds, and with the thought of all that poets have written about the country, you feel

confident that ſomething very pleaſant might be made out of the life of the pooreſt cottagers you ſee around you. If, however, in the receſſes of your mind there lurk ſtatiſtics of various kinds, parliamentary reports, evidence before health commiſſioners, accounts of education, and records of crime,—various miſgivings will come upon you and combat with the pleaſing impreſſion which the aſpect of nature has involuntarily inſpired you with. Nor will your ſecond thought be entirely wrong. The life of the rural poor is unqueſtionably very meagre, moſtly very dirty, and oſcillating between dulneſs and low joys. Such being the caſe, it is not a matter of the firſt importance to aſcertain whether the rural poor are better or worſe off than they uſed to be formerly. It is very difficult to ſay whether relatively to the reſt of ſociety they have improved or receded: but at any rate there are great room and great need for improvement now.

Before ſaying anything about the improvement of the peaſantry, it may be well to ſay ſomething about the nature of the peaſantry themſelves. I conceive that the Engliſh ruſtic is greatly underrated. My own experience is only of the peaſan-

try in the ſouthern counties (thoſe of the northern are thought by many to be much ſuperior) but from what little I have ſeen, I have certainly formed a very favourable opinion of the poſſibilities ariſing from the character of our rural poor." It is true, there is often an appearance of ſtolidity about them, eſpecially amongſt the men, but this is only an outer cruſt of inſenſibility, an induration which nature kindly creates to harden them for what is too frequently a very hard lot. Their occupation, as Adam Smith obſerves, is better calculated than that of the mechanic to cultivate the intellectual powers. The changing ſeaſons, the variety in the ſtate of the materials upon which the ruſtic has to work, the many objects he has to accompliſh, all tend to make him a more intelligent and thoughtful man than one whoſe labours are confined to the perfection of a ſingle mechanical proceſs. If the ruſtic then is inferior to the mechanic, this inferiority muſt reſult from other circumſtances than the difference in their reſpective callings.

Various plans and theories have at different times been put forward for the improvement of the labouring population; and occaſionally we hear of ſome ſpecific cauſe and ſpecific remedy

which will account for and ſettle all the difficulty. Of late years (for there is a faſhion in theſe things) theories about population built upon the ſhalloweſt and moſt ſhifting baſis of facts, have been brought in as the main guide of our conduct towards the labouring population. It is a bold thing to ſay, but I believe that as much folly has been uttered by ſo-called political economy as ever has been ſaid againſt it. And ſtill more folly and cruelty have been worked into practice by men who, enſlaved to ſome one doctrine, true enough in itſelf but requiring when expreſſed in life a thouſand modifications, have carried it out as if it were a Bible to them. They have made a creed of it. Now ſcarcely any doctrine in morality will bear to be ſo treated, much leſs any concluſion of political economy. For example, you will find what are called ſhrewd people declaring that wages are now the ſole bond between maſter and man. Whereas one man cannot be ten minutes with another without taking up ſome poſition in regard to him not influenced by the money values which may paſs between them.

Queſtions connected with the theories of population and the means of putting a ſtop to its too rapid increaſe, are very large and require to be

97150

diſcuſſed in much detail. I cannot do ſo here, and do not intend to do ſo anywhere, but ſhall ſimply and ſomewhat dogmatically declare my own opinion, that no great ſtate was ever ſaved or re-habilitated by invalid meaſures ſuch as direct anti-population ones. New forms of thought, new arrangements of ſociety, inventions, diſcoveries and unforeſeen conjunctions of circumſtances give new opportunities for national energy, and carry off, or undermine, an evil which will never be pared down by cold and merely reſtrictive meaſures, and which perhaps ought never to be attacked directly but indirectly.

I do not myſelf hope anything either from Fourieriſm, Oweniſm, or any of the forms of aſſociation which have hitherto been propoſed. Theſe ſocieties attempt ſomething upon prudential motives which could only be carried out upon the higheſt motives. They will all fail, I think, for want of a religious bond; and no religious bond can be formed for ſuch ſecond-rate objects as an increaſe of warmth and food, and a decreaſe of labour. Added to which, theſe projectors ignore all individuality, and would have men to be more alike than they will ever find them. But there

is more difference in the roots of the earth, even in the forms of any baſket-full of potatoes you dig up, than there ſhould be in the people who would be fit to inhabit the parallelograms and Icarias which are with a kind fancy laid out for them by ſundry benevolent projectors. Still, I do not mean to ſay that no benefits may ariſe from the principle, or rather the practice, of aſſociation being carried out as regards many of the minor purpoſes of life.

The modes which occur to me for raiſing the condition of the rural labouring claſſes are of a much ſimpler and humbler kind than thoſe alluded to above. Where reform for the labourers may moſt ſecurely be looked for, is firſt in themſelves, ſecondly in their immediate employers, thirdly in their landlords and reſident gentry and clergy, fourthly in what the ſtate can do for them by means of education.

Firſt in themſelves. De Foe ſays that the Engliſh are "the moſt lazy diligent nation in the "world,"* and what he ſays on this head goes to

* "We are the moſt lazy diligent nation in the world: there "is nothing more frequent than for an Engliſhman to work till he

the root of the matter. My own conviction is, that throughout England every year there is ſufficient wages given, even at the preſent low rate, to make the condition of the labouring poor quite different from what it is. But then theſe wages muſt be well ſpent. I do not mean to contend that the poor could of themſelves alone effect this change; but were they ſeconded by the advice, the inſtruction, and the aid (not given in money, or only in money lent to produce the current intereſt of the day) of the claſſes above them—the reſt the poor might accompliſh for themſelves. And indeed all that the rich could do to elevate the poor could hardly equal the advantage that would be gained by the poor for themſelves, if they could thoroughly ſubdue that one vice of drunkenneſs—the moſt waſteful of all the vices.

"has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or per-
"haps drunk, till it is all gone, and perhaps himſelf in debt; and
"aſk him in his cups what he intends? he'll tell you honeſtly, he'll
"drink as long as it laſts, and then go to work for more. I make
"no difficulty to promiſe, on a ſhort ſummons, to produce above a
"thouſand families in England, within my particular knowledge,
"who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whoſe fathers
"can earn their 15ſ. to 25ſ. a week, but will not work; who have
"work enough, but are too idle to ſeek after it, and hardly vouch-
"ſafe to earn anything but bare ſubſiſtence, and ſpending-money
"for themſelves." Quoted in *Eden's* State of the Poor, vol. i. page 560.

In the living of the poor (as indeed of all of us) there are two things to be conſidered: how to get money and how to ſpend it. Now I believe the experience of employers will bear me out in ſaying, that it is frequently found that the man with twenty ſhillings a week does not live more comfortably, or ſave more, than the man with fourteen ſhillings, the families of the two men being the ſame in number and general circumſtances. It is probable that unleſs he have a good deal of prudence and thought, the man who gets at all more than the average of his claſs, does not know what to do with it, or only finds in it a means ſuperior to that which his fellows poſſeſs of ſatisfying his appetite for drinking.

This brings me to the ſecond part of the ſubject, namely, what their employers and ſuperiors can do for the poor. Firſt I begin with the moral aim they ſhould have before them, which is, to make helpful, hopeful, wiſe men around them. For this end, the rich and powerful muſt ever beware of that charity which breeds poverty and helpleſſneſs. Thoughtleſs benevolence may for awhile create ſome ſhow of good; but it begins to fade away at the retiring footſteps of the ſo-called benefactor.

There was a maxim uttered before a parliamentary committee by a very ſhrewd man, who had been himſelf, I believe, one of the labouring claſſes—"Charity creates much of the miſery it relieves, but does not relieve all the miſery it creates." The object of the higher claſſes and indeed of all employers ſhould be to keep their efforts for the poor free from any of the objections to which fooliſh charity* is liable,—to make their charity ſomething reproductive; and in no way can they inſure this object ſo well as by operating almoſt inſenſibly and imperceptibly, if it may be ſo, upon the characters of thoſe whom they would benefit. The education of the young is a ſure and pre-eminently reproductive charity; but it would

* I have been aſked to explain what I mean by "fooliſh charity." To do it in detail would require a volume. But I may ſay briefly that that charity will generally prove fooliſh which lacks thought and continuity of purpoſe. It is only in romances that giants of evil are cleaved from head to foot by one blow. In real life evil has an elaſtic force, and recovers from rare or long intermitted blows, however hard or well-directed. To be ſure of being wiſely charitable, you muſt begin by giving a great deal of thought—a generoſity of the rareſt kind. Then, beſides giving thought, you have to continue ſteady in purpoſe when the novelty of the purpoſe has worn off. Even working wrongly in this way leads to ſome good reſult; ſomething at laſt is learnt which might never have been attained by ſcattered efforts at miſchief.

be hard to limit our efforts to this pleaſant duty, and much beſides in the condition of the poor requires to be attended to.

Now ſuppoſe that a benevolent and ſenſible man of the claſs of employers were, with the above views in his mind, to reſolve to ſee if he could not make the poor about him ſpend their ſpare time and ſpare money well. What would he do? The firſt thing he would attempt, would be to improve their moral and intellectual culture. He would try to give them more information on economical ſubjects in which they are at preſent deplorably ignorant. He would endeavour to pre-occupy their minds againſt low temptations by giving them ſomething elſe to think of. His gifts would all tend in the ſame direction: he would aim at their being of the reproductive kind.

In this claſs of benefits that which holds by far the firſt place is houſe accommodation. I have no doubt that ever ſince the change of manners which the ending of ſlavery and feudality gave riſe to, the want of houſe accommodation for the poor has been their greateſt drawback and deficiency. The complaint of a want of cottages is no new one. Eden, writing fifty years ago, thus expreſſes himſelf on this point, "the preſent is ſaid to be an age

" of ſpeculation, and particularly ſo in building;
" but adventurers in this line, I believe, ſeldom
" think of erecting cottages in country pariſhes,
" on the contingent poſſibility of letting them to
" labourers' families. Neither can labourers them-
" ſelves, who wiſh to migrate from their parents,
" and ſet up for themſelves, although they may
" poſſeſs the ſmall ſum requiſite to erect a cottage,
" always obtain permiſſion of the lord of a manor
" to build one on a common. I am acquainted
" with one pariſh, in the neighbourhood of a
" populous city, in which, from the difficulty of
" procuring tenements, or ſmall plots of land to
" build on, poor people have, more than once,
" availed themſelves of a long night, to rear a
" hovel on the road ſide, or on the common."
And in the preſent day things are worſe rather than better in this reſpect. Now the waſtefulneſs of bad accommodation can hardly be overrated. Dampneſs, uncleanlineſs, want of means for ſtoring and preſerving food, and inſufficient ſewerage in a habitation, are all immediate cauſes of pecuniary loſs. But the indirect loſſes are here the greateſt. Who can eſtimate how much money is ſpent for the enjoyment of the clean ſanded floor and comparative comfort of the pot houſe, which

might be had ſo cheaply at home? In improving the houſe accommodation of the poor, you ſpend ſomething which anticipates expenſe; and do good which cannot well be taken away. Wages are ſaid to vary according to the price of ſuſtenance, according to the demand for labour, according to the increaſe of population. It may not be in your power, except indirectly, to affect theſe great currents of human proſperity and adverſity; but raiſe the ſtyle of houſe accommodation and you will do a ſolid good which lowering of wages cannot depreſs.

To proceed ſtill further in the ſame direction. I have ſpoken hitherto of houſe accommodation being wanted for the poor, but ſuch accommodation will be very incomplete, unleſs it includes a bit of ground ſurrounding each cottage. Well would it be if every land-owner carried in his mind a reſolve in conſonance with an Act paſſed I believe in Elizabeth's reign, which forbade cottages to be erected unleſs a certain quantity of land were laid to each cottage, and denominated all cottages failing in this reſpect "ſilly cottages." I do not preſume to ſay what would be the quantity of land (for that muſt vary according to the productiveneſs and

other circumſtances of the vicinity) which ſhould be enough to give the cottager a homeſtead, and prevent him from becoming a cottier,—where it is thought deſirable to prevent that. But that he ſhould have a homeſtead I have no manner of doubt. Conſider the loſs of labour, if round every home there is not a homeſtead. Allotments, excellent things as they are, will not compenſate for the want of a homeſtead, eſpecially in ſuch a climate as our Britiſh one, where, on account of the wet, it is deſirable that the ground which a man labours upon at odd times ſhould be cloſe to him. Conſider alſo the benefit of getting all manner of little adjuncts to his ordinary food, which even a little homeſtead affords the labourer. In furtherance of this, direct gifts may be made by the neighbouring rich, which gifts will be eminently re-productive ones, ſuch as plants, ſeeds, tools, animals.

In an Eſſay publiſhed about half a century ago on the beſt means of providing employment for the people, there are three maxims laid down which ſeem very judicious. The writer contends "that, in order that any advantage may be "derived from the deſire of enjoying the artifi-"cial neceſſaries of life, and the imitative pro-

" penſities of man, by making them the means " of rendering him induſtrious, three circum- " ſtances are materially requiſite. The example " to be imitated muſt be pretty generally dif- " fuſed among a people. The object it pro- " poſes, muſt be conſiderably above thoſe already " enjoyed; and, to acquire it, although labour " and induſtry ſhould be neceſſary, they ſhould " never be vain and ineffectual."* Now all theſe conditions would ſoon be fulfilled were ſeveral employers and rich men to ſet about improving the houſe accommodation of the rural poor, becauſe the third condition would be fulfilled without their interference if only there were a ſufficient proportion of good cottages, as the induſtrious men amongſt the poor would find their way to them.

Having conſidered the benefits that would ariſe from better houſe accommodation, and from homeſteads, I would ſay that the views of a benevolent landlord might go ſtill further in the ſame courſe, and he might endeavour to make

* See *Dr. Crumpe's* Eſſay referred to in *Eden's* State of the Poor, vol. i. p. 438.

ſome at leaſt of the poor people on his lands proprietors. The cottier ſyſtem in Ireland has naturally frightened large proprietors and the public generally, and made them very averſe to ſmall tenancies in land or ſmall proprietors. But the caſes are not the leaſt analogous. Almoſt every good reſult in life is the reſult of proportion; and it is ſo in the caſe we are conſidering. That people having very ſmall holdings in land ſhould ſucceed, requires certain qualities in the men themſelves, and certain circumſtances around them. If there be an utter abſence, or ſomething approaching to it, of one of theſe qualities or circumſtances, the whole proportion is deranged, and what might have been an unmixed good turns out an unmixed evil. We are not to conclude againſt ſmall holdings of land in a country abounding in manufacturing induſtry, under ſettled laws and very firm bonds of ſociety, and amongſt a people not eaſily contented and very likely to be willing at any time to give a good day's work for a good day's wages, becauſe theſe ſmall holdings have led to great abuſes and miſchief in a country where the above named advantages are wanting, or do not exiſt in the ſame degree. The Celt is very fond of ſetting up as gentleman. The graces as well

as the faults of his character tend that way. But I have no fear that amongſt our Anglo Saxon community the poſſeſſion of one, two, three, or even five acres of land will make a man indifferent to putting himſelf forward whenever good wages are to be had for work.

To give our labouring population comfortable houſe accommodation, to provide them ſome ſmall homeſtead round each cottage, indeed, to go further, and to make ſeveral of them ſmall proprietors, are works which will require much time, but they ſhould be at once adopted as objects for all land-owners and employers as they already are by ſome; and a man who coming to an eſtate where a number of peaſants are lodged in "ſilly" and dirty cottages, which almoſt deny the idea of Prudence (rarely willing to enter abodes where her elder ſiſter Cleanlineſs is never to be found) and who leaves a number of wiſe and clean cottages, all of them with little homeſteads round them, and ſome with ſmall pieces of land attached to them rented, or even poſſeſſed, by the cottager, will have done a greater feat than many a man who has been a moſt ſkilful architect of his own fortunes, and has made a great noiſe in the world.

I am not ſure that ſuch conduct on the part

of the land-owner or employer will repay him in money, and I do not believe that that is what he will think firſt of. Why ſuch things are not attempted now by landlords, is from a fear of bad conſequences to the community and not altogether from ſelfiſh motives. They have the fear of increaſed Poor Rates before their eyes and look with ſome apprehenſion upon each cottage as a poſſible neſt of paupers. And as things are now, this fear is not to be wondered at; but I believe if the condition of the peaſantry were elevated, ſo would be the value of the landlord's eſtate; and every acre of his would become more valuable as there aroſe a more numerous but ſelf-ſuſtaining population. It is only in this way—by an improvement in the condition of the labouring claſſes—that we ſhall diminiſh the preſſure of the Poor Laws, or make them what they ſhould be—a kind refuge for thoſe amongſt the poor whom very adverſe circumſtances, old age, or accidents have driven to utter want.

Laſtly, there is what the ſtate can do for the rural poor by means of education: furthering and conſolidating private efforts in this good cauſe, and giving it its juſt weight and honour. It is not

to be ſuppoſed that education, which is a ſpiritual thing, will at once compenſate for material deficiencies; but it tends to breed up a generation who will make the moſt of whatever material good comes in their way, who are likely to bear evil days with patience, (for patience is a great part of education) who will know that there have been other evil days in times paſt, who will appreciate the difficulties which others experience in aſſiſting them, who will ſtay in their pariſhes or emigrate, or marry, or live ſingly, upon better grounds of reaſon and more thoughtfulneſs than their fathers were able to command; and who, if the education were made what it ought to be, would have increaſed their acquaintance with nature in various ways, and thereby added to their reſources in many directions.

DUNSFORD. I think it would be a great thing for the rural poor and the country generally, if the farmers were a more educated race.

MILVERTON. Certainly, and if they were men of

more capital. I often wonder that the younger ſons of gentlemen are not more frequently brought up to the cultivation of land.

Ellesmere. That comes from the diſeaſed idea prevalent among the higher and middle claſſes of the charms and glories of profeſſional life. Now I do not wiſh to run down any thing by which I make my bread, but I can imagine a great many ways of occupation more fitting for the mind, the body, and the whole man, than that of a lawyer. I mean of a ſucceſsful lawyer, for nothing can be conceived more dreary than the life of a man who is waiting for buſineſs through the beſt years of his exiſtence.

Milverton. Yes, if you were to relate to the inhabitant of another planet the career of many of our cleverest men, it would ſeem ſtrangely diſproportionate. For the firſt five and twenty years they are elaborately educated. For the next fifteen or twenty they wait to do ſomething, and for the remainder of their lives they find out that there is nothing for them to do, or even if they do get into buſineſs, what a poor ſuperſtructure it is, conſidering the ample baſe of time and labour upon which it has been raiſed.

Dunsford. Forgive me, Milverton, but this is rather a ſhallow way of looking at the queſtion. Every man's life here is a very poor ſuperſtructure for the baſis. Indeed I ſhould ſay no ſuperſtructure at all, but only a foundation. However, without going into theſe general queſtions, I quite agree with you that the higher

and middle classes have been too anxious to take their children out of all employments which have any thing mechanical in them. To go to another point connected with the essay: You have said little or nothing about the social intercourse between the landlord and the labourer.

Milverton. I have said so much upon this subject in other places; that I feel as if it would be only needless repetition to say any more. As you know, I look upon the social intercourse of various classes as one of the great means of education for each class; and there is no doubt that the aid and encouragement which the higher might give the lower classes by mere presence among them, and converse with them, is very great. Often, all that a man wants in order to accomplish something that it is good for him to do, is the encouragement of another man's sympathy. What Bacon says the voice of the man is to the dog—the encouragement of a higher nature—each man can in a lesser degree afford his neighbour: for a man receives the suggestions of another mind with somewhat of the respect and courtesy with which he would greet a higher nature. Do not you remember, Ellesmere, when, in our younger days, you went through any problem of which you felt assured that every step was built upon the clearest reasoning, you yet felt a great satisfaction if any fellow-worker had come to the same result?

Ellesmere. I very seldom did come to the same results with any body else; but if I had, I allow I should have felt more sure that I was right.

MILVERTON. And this in matters of the cleareſt logic; whereas all human affairs are immerſed in the confuſions, contradictions, and darkneſs of material things.

DUNSFORD. To come back again to the eſſay: you have ſaid nothing about Emigration.

MILVERTON. Why ſhould I? It may, or may not be, requiſite; but at preſent I am endeavouring to ſhow what can be done on our own ſoil.

ELLESMERE. One of the greateſt things for furthering your rural improvement would be an improvement in the law which ſhould lead to a ſimpler and leſs expenſive mode of transferring ſmall portions of landed property.

DUNSFORD. And one of the greateſt moral improvements which would conduce to the rural improvements we have been conſidering, would be a leſſening of that vanity which induces men to hold large eſtates in their hands which they have not capital to work or to improve.

MILVERTON. Yes, ſo that they are like veſſels which turn out to be too large for the docks they are built in, lying idle in unwieldly pomp.

ELLESMERE. Well, let us leave ruſtics and ruſtical affairs for to-day. There is no doubt that what Dunsford has juſt ſaid is very true; and I ſhould have no objection to extend his moral propoſition, and declare that if men in general were wiſer and better, corn would grow much richer; but meanwhile let us look at the water coming from the mill. How beautiful it is! It can ſay, too, in defence of its noiſe and tumult, that at leaſt it grinds

ſome corn, an excuſe which many kings and governors, authors and clamorous perſons of various kinds cannot plead for their doings—which are often all noiſe; and the corn is not ground by them, but trodden down.

Milverton. I was thinking when we firſt came to the waters, of a Spaniſh proverb about them. "Aguas "paſadas no muelen molino." "The waters that "have paſſed the mill grind no more." It is a proverb againſt exceſſive regret, a very good one.

Dunsford. The two thoughts occaſioned by the ſame phenomenon are very characteriſtic of the men.

Lucy. I wonder when any thing in nature will give occaſion to Mr. Elleſmere to ſay anything good-natured of man.

Milverton. No, no, now you are not juſt to him. Elleſmere only means to take the part which ſome man occupies in one of thoſe brilliant little novels, Headlong Hall, or Crotchet Caſtle, "the deteriorationiſt." What I wiſh is, that he would give us all that is to be ſaid in this character at once, and then turn to ſome other, which he would fill as well.

Elleſmere. Commend me to Milverton for a friend to give a high view of one's intentions and purpoſes. But I have no objection, if you really wiſh it, to comply with your requeſt ſome day, and give you a lecture containing my general diſſatisfaction with moſt things.

Dunsford. Now, now, nothing like time preſent: and a practiſed lawyer like you can ſpeak without any preparation.

Elleſmere. Wait a minute. I will juſt walk up

and down a bit to arrange my thoughts, and invent ſome telling aphoriſm to begin with. You muſt not interrupt much. You ſee where the ſun is now: it will be there, far in the weſt, before I ſhall have finiſhed, if you interrupt. Upon my word I am ſerious, I will give you a ſpeech if you like. You muſt all anſwer it, if you can, in your various ways. Milverton will write an eſſay in reply—the title, "on the completeneſs of modern life;" my friend to the right (meaning me) will preach a ſermon which ſomebody who hears will perhaps be good enough to tell me about; and Miſs Daylmer will—make an anſwer in worſted-work.

He went away, walked about a little, and then returning to us, began as follows:—

Ellesmere. The age that is, would, indeed, be the weakeſt as well as the laſt of ages, if having the whole ſtory to tell, it did not make itſelf the hero of the ſtory. In this caſe, however, having (much to my ſatisfaction) to appear at preſent on the other ſide, I ſhall lay before your Lordſhips—and her Ladyſhip—ſuch reaſons as may induce the Court to come to a very different concluſion to that of the Court below. To begin with the Church.

Dunsford. Now, Elleſmere—

Ellesmere. My Lord, I muſt beg you to bear in mind that there is an imaginary Bar here as well as a Bench, and that the right of free ſpeaking to the point—

here you muſt fancy a murmur of applauſe to the back of the ſpeaker—is not to be queſtioned, and ſo I ſhall proceed. What a thing a modern Proteſtant ſervice is, a mixture of ſervices which, however beautiful in themſelves, (the product by the way of other and very different ages) were never meant to be ſo brought, I would ſay, jammed together as they are; hymns of praiſe are made inappropriate, and at times almoſt ludicrous, by being read out inſtead of ſung: the nobleſt buildings of the church are ſo miſuſed, that as an author, who might be eminent if he would liſten more to a certain learned friend of his, ſays (here I am pretty ſure of one of my judges going with me) "cathedrals are to him moſtly a ſad ſight"—and yet this church is, in its way, one of the choiceſt things of the land.

Then, as to the ſtate, here is a conſtitution working in ſuch a faſhion, that there is no man, however weak, unprincipled, or ludicrous, who may not fairly pretend to a ſeat in the chief council of the ſtate; and where the government of the country, intereſt-ſubdued, is at times ſo feeble and ſo inadequate, that, hopeleſsly, it allows thoſe evils to go on which all men acknowledge to be evils, without attempt at averting them (look at the rail-road legiſlation of late years for that) and where, generally, meaſures, inſtead of being wiſely and long prepared, are left to be originated by ſome chance,—by individual knowledge and impulſes,—to be borne on by clamour and carried by combination from without. The honours of the ſtate to whom are they given? often

to men induſtriouſly obſcure, of whom though they may have ſupported the Whig or the Tory intereſt in this borough or that county, the country in general knows nothing, and ought to know nothing.

Then, if we come to literature, (which is to be the government always of the next age) what do we find but hiſtories with inſufficient reſearch, fictions without truth, no metaphyſics, no theology, and ſuch a multitude of bad hurried books iſſuing from the preſs, that the art of forgetting is the main deſideratum for a modern reader of modern books. If we look at the ſocial life, dulneſs, oſtentation and imitativeneſs reign triumphant there. Here is a metropolis numerous as the army of Xerxes, (even in the annals of an hiſtorian not bound to provide for them) and which if a Xerxes could look down upon, piercing through the pall of ſmoke which covers its inhabitants and which they like to have about them, he would ſee them cluſtering together in ill-built, ill-ventilated, ill-placed houſes, the ſocial pleaſures of the people tarniſhed by vice, encumbered by fooliſh oſtentation, formed without art, partaken without comfort, and having no ſoul of pleaſure in them. He would ſee this multitude dreſſed all alike, not ſuitably to what they have to do or to ſuffer, but in a dreſs adopted from the defects, the follies and the fancies of the moſt fooliſh of mankind. An author whom I have before alluded to, and from whom better things might have been hoped, exalts to the uttermoſt the fact, if it be ſo, of this age being free from fear of the faggot or the torture-chamber. Fear of the ſocial circle, fear of the newſpa-

per, fear of being odd, fear of what may be thought by people who never did think, ſtill greater fear of what ſomebody may ſay—are not theſe things a clinging dreſs of torture?

There are noble men in the world, but they do not ſay to each other, "Brother, I am in doubt, in difficulty, "in deſpair: come and tell me what thy ſoul thinketh." A mean and cowardly reſerve upon the moſt important queſtions of human life, is the characteriſtic of modern times. In few words, to parody the ſaying of a great writer in depreciation of an age, perhaps, ſuperior to this, we may ſay that we are living amongſt ſecond-hand arts, miſguiding letters, bad ſociety—and, which is worſt of all, continual fear and danger of the meaneſt aſpects of public opinion; and the life of man gregarious, unſociable, whirling, confuſed, thoughtleſs, dull.

Milverton. You have ſhown your ſkill as an advocate; here enliſting Dunsford with you when you ſpoke of politics after his faſhion; here making ſure of me in commenting on the poverty of modern worſhip and the mean and ſtupid arrangements of ſome modern cities.

Dunsford. But you do not mean to ſay, Milverton, that you agree with his ill-natured tirade.

Milverton. Why—I think he is right to ſome extent in nearly every point of attack he makes; but it does not diſcompoſe my mind. It would be a very ſad thing if we had not a great deal left for us to do in the world. In theſe matters I hold to one view which I have expreſſed to you metaphorically before. It is, that the progreſs of mankind is like the incoming of the tide,

which, for any given moment, is almoſt as much of a retreat as an advance, but ſtill the tide moves on.

Again, to look at the matter practically, the man who is ſatisfied with any given ſtate of things that we are likely to ſee on earth, muſt have a creeping imagination: on the other hand, he who is oppreſſed by the evils around him ſo as to ſtand gaping at them in horror, has a feeble will and a want of practical power, and allows his fancy to come in, like too much wavering light upon his work, ſo that he does not ſee to go on with it.

A man of ſagacity, while he apprehends a great deal of the evil around him, reſolves what part of it he will be blind to for the preſent, in order to deal beſt with what he has in hand: and as to men of any genius, they are not impriſoned or rendered partial even by their own experience of evil, much leſs are their attacks upon it paralyſed by their full conſciouſneſs of its large preſence.

Ellesmere. Had I really been a hired advocate, I ſhould have ventured to interrupt your Lordſhip a good many times in the courſe of the laſt few minutes, and remind you of the queſtion at iſſue: only when you are in the aphoriſtic vein, and putting forth all manner of theories, I do not like to ſtop you. Now that laſt thing you ſaid is plauſible, nay more, it is a high view of genius, but I ſhould be glad if you would inform me of your examples, if you would tell me who are the people who are not ſubdued by their own experience.

Milverton. All very great artiſts; Shakeſpeare and Goethe for inſtance—even Scott in a minor degree, whereas Byron was abſorbed by his own experience of life.

DUNSFORD. But to deſcend into details with our anſwer to his ſpeech, or rather our judgment upon it.

MILVERTON. Firſt as regards the church—you muſt anſwer that though, Dunsford.

DUNSFORD. No: it was a common-place, weak attack which might be improved into ſomething ſerious, if I were to anſwer it—more eſpecially as I agree with him in ſome meaſure about the ſervices.

ELLESMERE. This is the anſwer.

MILVERTON. I ſuppoſe you will leave it to me to ſay ſomething in reply to his attack upon preſent literature, in which I really think, Elleſmere, if you were not wholly joking, you were very unreaſonable. We look acroſs the wide landſcape of time, from this height near us to that one in the middle diſtance, from that to the next tall trees, from them to the next circle of hills, and ſo on; forming our view out of the heights, and not knowing that there are ſuch things as deep valleys and wide-extended plains before us. I have heard one of the few perſons qualified to judge in ſuch matters ſay, that in all time there are not more than a hundred names eminent in literature. That age would be the moſt wonderful age the world had ſeen, in which it was not to be ſaid of the current literature, that the greateſt part of what was written had better not have been written, for any ſervice that it could do a reaſonable reader, taking into account the hindrance that it is to him in preventing him from reading what has ſome undoubted nutriment in it.

Neither do I mean to contend, that there is not a

certain reckleſs fluency in theſe times and a graſping at effect at no little ſacrifice of truth; but there is ſome ſterling work done, ſurely. We are not in a poſition to ſay whether this work is to live or not, and to weigh its merits nicely.

ELLESMERE. Now then, Miſs Daylmer, the queſtion of dreſs and ſocial life is left for you. Are we not very far removed by our arts of dreſſing and general demeanour from any of the lower animals, eſpecially the ape ſpecies?

LUCY. I don't know what branch of our toilet, or rather of yours, you would begin reforming. I ſuppoſe you would not begin by being an ancient Briton and wearing a long beard.

ELLESMERE. Indeed but I would. That is the very firſt thing I would do.

LUCY. Frightful! what figures you would be!

ELLESMERE. How can you talk ſuch nonſenſe. You have generally more outer ſeemings of ſenſe than moſt country girls, but in this you are as abſurd as—as I am to try and convince you. Have you ever examined pictures, buſts, or coins, and ſeen what men uſed to look like? So wedded is the feminine nature to what it is accuſtomed to, that I am perſuaded if it were cuſtomary to have the right hand thumbs of all people in the upper claſſes cut off, the women would all vow that it was an elegant cuſtom; and when ſome Elleſmere had propoſed to keep the digit in queſtion, ſome Miſs Daylmer would wonder how he could think of doing ſo vulgar a thing—ſo unbecoming too.

MILVERTON. Well, I think we do waſte a good deal of time and energy to make ourſelves ridiculous in the matter of beards.

LUCY. But is nobody with me: Uncle, what do you ſay?

DUNSFORD. I cannot ſee, my love, why, in itſelf, any coſtume would not become a clergyman, which ſo many old divines (have you ever noticed their portraits in my folios) look well in.

LUCY. I ſee you are all for beards; but then, if it would not be preſumptuous in a girl like me to ſay ſo to ſuch reverend company, are you not rather cowardly in not doing what you all think would ſave you ſo much trouble, and be ſo becoming?

DUNSFORD. What would be thought of it, dear Lucy, in the pariſh? As it is, your mother often tells me that ſhe is ſure Mrs. Thompſon will ſay that I do things like no other perſon.

LUCY. And you, Mr. Milverton?

MILVERTON. Why you ſee, my pet, I ſay a great many things in books which are not perhaps quite according to rule, and which I know the potent Mrs. Thompſon would pronounce againſt: and then I do a few odd things, to pleaſe myſelf and have my way, and I cannot afford to do any more. Each of us has a certain amount of allowable eccentricity: (ſome more than others) I have no ſavings, and have indeed rather overdrawn than otherwiſe. Beſides, authors, artiſts, players, are all an outcaſt race: my doing it would not further the matter: ſome very reſpectable, judicious, ſafe man muſt ſet the example.

Lucy. I turn then to Mr. Elleſmere.

Elleſmere. Why you ſee, Miſs Daylmer, I am a lawyer, and we lawyers love to cheriſh cuſtom; if we were to upſet that, we do not exactly ſee what would happen. It might be that people would come to omit giving us the cuſtomary fees. Nevertheleſs, ſome day after a long vacation ſpent in the Eaſt, I am not ſure that I ſhall not appear in Court with a beard. You may be quite ſure I ſhall not do this till I have ſecured what is called a competency.

Lucy. Valorous gentleman! Well, if we women had not the courage in ſuch trifling matters as thoſe of dreſs to do—

Elleſmere. Now, Miſs Daylmer, don't tempt me to ſay what I ſhall be ſorry to have ſaid, as you hear angry people exclaim, when they are about to ſay the obnoxious ſaying; but I am credibly informed, and do verily believe, that there are certain portions of women's dreſs—

Here Lucy tripped away, for ſhe is a girl of great tact, though I ſay it who ſhouldn't ſay it, merely obſerving that ſhe would return when Mr. Elleſmere had come back to ſome ſubject which he really did underſtand ſomething about. This broke up our ſitting; we now noticed that it was time to think of returning, and commenced our walk homewards.

CHAPTER V.

THE following chapter, as my readers will ſoon ſee, is out of its proper place. But, wiſhing to keep the different ſections of one important ſubject together, I give the following eſſay a place here, though it was read to us at a ſubſequent period and when we were far away from Worth Aſhton.

I remember only a part of the converſation which preceded this eſſay. Milverton was talking about fables; and Elleſmere ſaid, that he believed the animals made fables about us, and that he did not ſee why ſuch fables ſhould not afford juſt as good hints for their conduct as our fables about them for ours. Milverton aſſented to this; and ſaid, that he knew indeed of one occaſion when a fable related in the preſence of certain animals led to very important reſults. If we liked, he would tell us the whole ſtory. We ſaid we ſhould be glad to hear it, and Milverton thus began.

MILVERTON. The lions once were lazy: and ſome of them whoſe teeth were not ſo white as they had been, but who roared as bravely as ever, ſaid to the others, "Why, brother lions, do we lead this wretched toil-"ſome life—up early, to lair late; hunting alone over "the ſandy plains from morning till night, and earning "but a ſcanty living or too much; now ſtarved, now "gorged; and at all times ſome of us ſtarving while "others are gorging. Let us no more be unſociable, "but let all the great beaſts of the foreſt hunt together "in packs; ſo ſhall our cares be divided equally, and "our prey the ſame." The other lions roared aſſent. The tigers alſo liſtened favorably to this counſel, and all the young ones much approved it, for though they loved blood, they were fond of play too.

The project once agreed upon, the jackals were diſcarded; the wild beaſts gathered together in bands; and a new order of things reigned throughout the foreſts and deſerts of the world.

But plenty and harmony reigned not. When any of theſe vaſt companies of wild beaſts went out to hunt, their united roaring, like the thunder, warned their prey from afar of what was coming; and every one of the harmleſs animals had time to hide. Then too none of the great beaſts cared, as before, to watch with diligence the traces of his prey, for that was a duty which belonged to all. Nor was that amity found which ſhould have graced ſuch noble aſſemblages of great wild beaſts;

for thoſe amongſt them whoſe limbs were ſtrongeſt, or whoſe ſcent was keeneſt, would inſiſt upon being foremoſt in leading the pack, though they would not be earlieſt in ſnuffing the morning breeze or in tracing the faint footmarks of young antelopes.

Each week the lions and tigers grew more gaunt, and their lioneſſes and tigreſſes more clamorous for food for their cubs and themſelves. *They* had never been ſo fond of this banding together.

At laſt one ſultry day, in the plains of Central Africa, there met by chance five companies of theſe great beaſts. That they ſhould thus meet together ſhowed how ill they had managed, and what a want there was of jackals. None of them had taſted water for two days, for it had been the duty of every one to look out for the bubbling ſprings in the few green oaſes.

There they lay couched upon the ſand, each company eyeing the others with ill-ſuppreſſed hatred; but the hunger which had increaſed their ferocity had tamed their courage, and they feared to attack one another though they thirſted for each other's blood. Low growlings occaſionally broke the ſilence. Unconſciouſly, in their irritation, their tails ſwept ſlightly backwards and forwards and raiſed a fine cloud of ſand which only parched their palates more.

Then one of the old lions, whoſe mild roaring was never liſtened to by his tribe except in ſeaſons of great adverſity, eſſayed to ſpeak; and all the reſt were ſilent. "Brother beaſts," ſaid he, "let me tell you a fable of

" men. Thoſe poor, weaving, ſpinning, handy crea-
" tures were once minded to live moſt ſocially together.
" The food they ſcratch for, the rags they tie themſelves
" up in, were to be in common; their little dens were
" all to be large ones; none were to ſeek private ends,
" but each was to ſcratch the ground or draw the little
" threads acroſs each other with all his might for the
" good of the community. Their jackals too were all
" diſmiſſed; and men began their new way of life, utter-
" ing their diſcordant noiſes of joy.

" But ſomehow or other the ſcratching of the earth
" for the public good was not ſo deep as it had formerly
" been. More weeds than ſeeds came up. The rags
" men tie themſelves in were more ſcanty than before.
" It was found that there never were ſo many ſick men
" who could not ſcratch the earth or teaſe the threads.
" But there was one kind of work which all would
" do, and that was, to tell the others what to do.
" Theſe deformed creatures who ſtand upright and hate
" one another, hated more than ever, each wiſhing to
" ſcratch the ground in the foremoſt rank, or to weave
" the firſt threads that were to be woven. Their fe-
" males, like ours, my friends, are more given to call
" for food for their cubs, than to plan hunts and battles,
" and talk wiſdom." Here a low but ſignificant growl
burſt from the aſſembly, each remembering what his
lioneſs or tigreſs had lately ſaid to him at bedtime in
his lair.

" My friends, to end a ſtory which is already too

"long, I have but to tell you that theſe creatures ſoon "came to blows with ſtick and ſtone. The ſtrength "of tooth and nail has not been allowed them, for fear "ſuch irritable animals ſhould make too frequent uſe of "that power. The earth was no longer ſcratched at "all, the threads no longer interwoven, their dens tum-"bled down, the white ſand gained upon the green graſs; "and that we are here, brother beaſts, to-day, is owing "to the folly which led theſe noxious though in them-"ſelves weak creatures to attempt a ſociability which "they at any rate were not good enough for."

He ceaſed. The lions, whoſe modeſty is equal to their valour, felt in their hearts that they too were not good enough. Silently and with depreſſed mane and tail each ſought out his diſcarded jackal and reſumed his old haunts. Thoſe that ſurvived grew fat again; and they have never ſince attempted to be ſo extremely ſociable together.

After we had laughed and joked a good deal about this ſtrange fable of Milverton's, he read to us the following eſſay upon Government.

GOVERNMENT.

THE political events of 1848 may be ſaid to have arreſted the attention of the civilized world; for ſuch perſons as were not themſelves concerned in theſe events, have been conſtrained, as it were, by their ſwiftneſs, their ſuddenneſs, and their magnitude, to give ſome heed to them. Like perſons in the ſtreet, when a frightened or wild animal ruſhes by, all pauſe from their work, or their amuſement, or their thought, to look with eager eyes for what accident will happen next. Thoſe amongſt ourſelves who during long years of peace, had taken but a languid intereſt in foreign affairs, have lately been ardent in their ſtudy of the current hiſtory of the day.

It is impoſſible but that many thoughts of an unuſual kind reſpecting government, muſt have occupied men's minds in the courſe of this eventful year. It is unlikely that any thoughtful perſon will not occaſionally have given anxious conſideration to the government of his own country.

The firſt thing that will have occurred to any

attentive obſerver of late events will be a ſuſpicion of conſiderable deficiency in wiſdom on the part of thoſe governments which have ſhown themſelves ſo unſtable. But we may go much further than the preſent occaſion, to demonſtrate the deficiencies of modern government. Long ago, Gibbon noticed that all the men employed in the army and navy of Imperial Rome were not equal to the number maintained in modern times by the Prince of one province of that Empire. The hiſtorian alludes to Louis the Fourteenth. What a condemnation of the modern ſyſtem this fact affords. It may be ſaid that the population of Europe is much increaſed ſince the times of the Roman dominion; but then Rome had to keep in order the known world. There was to be an army always encamped upon the Rhine and another on the Danube. In Africa, in Spain, in Aſia Minor, in Britain, ſoldiers judiciouſly placed maintained the public tranquillity. There were of neceſſity two or three ſtations for the Roman fleets: and Rome herſelf had always a large body of her tyrant pretorians encamped beſide her. The united numbers of all theſe troops do not amount to the number maintained by France of late years in a time of European and domeſtic peace. Going ſtill

further in our researches, I think if any one attentively considers what notices we have of the well-being of ancient cities, suspicions will cross his mind whether our advance in material prosperity has been what it ought to have been. No doubt this slowness of advance merely arises from a new set of difficulties having grown up which require new sagacity to meet them.

But the truth is, that government is now, and always has been, a matter of profound difficulty: and in all ages has been conducted in an abrupt and convulsive manner. Grievances which if early dealt with might be dealt with easily, are suffered to harden and increase at leisure. Indirect remedies (which will some day be found out to be in general the best remedies) are seldom sought for. What is done is too frequently the offspring of clamour and chance: and legislation is mostly provided at a crisis.

History is chiefly a record of the failures of Government. This is the usual current of human affairs: it does not become any of us to complain inordinately of it, or to pride ourselves upon discerning it. But we may strive to lessen an evil which will not be eradicated as long as men are men.

Turning now to our own government, we cannot but ſee that we have great advantages; and at this moment are looking on at the diſturbances of the world with conſcious ſuperiority. We have, as I ſaid, great advantages. The advantage of our inſular poſition can hardly be overrated. Then the nature of the people. They are reſolute, enduring, grave, modeſt, humorous. I lay great ſtreſs upon the laſt of theſe qualifications. Nothing corrects theories better than this ſenſe of humour which we have in a greater degree than is to be met with, I believe, in any other people. An Engliſhman ſees eaſily the abſurdity which lurks in any extreme propoſition.

Moreover, there is ſuch a thing as fortune, or as I would rather ſay, divine guidance, for nations as for individuals. That man muſt be very unſubmiſſive, I think, and very unobſervant, who has not noticed in his own career turning points and important criſes which could hardly be ſaid in any way to have been brought about by him or to be reſults of his character. The ſame with us as a nation: we have had our diſturbances at the right times, upon great ſubjects, and conducted by great perſonages. From us was to be the greateſt colonization: and it ſeems as if we had been trained

up with a view to that, accuſtomed early to independent action, as people who would have to ſeek their fortune in the world. Now theſe conſiderations, far from puffing us up with pride, ought to make us fearful for ourſelves and alſo kind in our judgment of other nations. We may remember, in eſtimating other nations, that the character of a people, as of an individual, may be greater than its hiſtory would convey: and, perhaps, the utmoſt we can ſay of our government, ſuppoſing it to have been preeminent amongſt modern governments, would be ſome ſpeech of a ſimilar form, though much more gracious in ſubſtance, to that which Talleyrand uttered with regard to our public ſchool education,* "It is the beſt," he ſaid, "which I have ever ſeen, and it is abominable;" ſo we of our government may ſay, It is the beſt we know of, and there are a good many things to be mended even in it.

In diſcuſſing the ſubject of Government generally, it may be divided into three heads: the form of government, the objects of government, and the mode and means of government.

* C'eſt la meilleure que je n'ai jamais vue, et c'eſt abominable.

I. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

This is a very difficult ſubject to conſider, and it is almoſt impoſſible to pronounce what form is abſtractedly the beſt. Much muſt depend upon the nature of the people, their hiſtory, their age as a people, the nature of ſurrounding governments (a thing often overlooked) and the geography and products of their country.

To take an inſtance as regards the nature of the people in its bearing upon a queſtion of government often mooted theoretically and practically in modern times; namely, whether there ſhould be one or two legiſlative bodies in a ſtate. There may be a people of ſuch ſober temperament, ſo given to pauſe and ponder, ſo careful in the choice of repreſentatives, and ſo thoroughly verſed in political queſtions and economical knowledge, that they might do well with one legiſlative body: and wiſe meaſures might be carried by acclamation. Not that ſuch a people would be very apt to acclaim, or that being very thoughtful they would be likely to be often unanimous. But if they were, one might ſafely truſt their acclamations; and in this way that

people might eſcape the doubt, the delay and the expenſe which belong to a ſecond chamber, and they might do well without long deliberations of any kind. I have never myſelf ſeen, heard, or read of, ſuch a people; but there may be, or there may come to be, ſuch a people; and whenever, or wherever, it is found, we muſt allow that it will be fitted for one legiſlative chamber. On the other hand, the miſchief of having only one chamber will be proportionate to the excitability of temperament, the frivoloufneſs and the proneneſs to believe in a majority which belong to the people amongſt whom ſuch a form of government is eſtabliſhed.

Again, to take an inſtance of the effect of ſurrounding governments. It can hardly be imagined that a deſpotiſm would be extravagantly deſpotic, or an ariſtocracy perniciouſly ariſtocratic, which was ſurrounded by countries enjoying remarkably free inſtitutions.—Poſſibly at the preſent moment one of the happieſt forms of government to live under, would be one that had been thoroughly autocratic, which preſerved the vigour that ſuch governments poſſeſs as regards their foreign action and their internal adminiſtration, but in which the arbitrary tendencies were checked by the fear or example of neighbouring

ſtates and by free opinions preſſing in upon the country at all points.

In aſſerting the importance of the form of government, I do not mean to ſay that in itſelf the queſtion whether the chief magiſtrate in a ſtate ſhould be an hereditary king, or an elective king, or a preſident for life, or a preſident for a term of years, is half ſo important as the tenure of land, or the laws regarding the transfer of property, or even the arrangements for police and for the preſervation of the public health. But then if one form of government is likely to hinder the conſideration of theſe good things more than another; if, for inſtance, the conſtitution of the government be ſubject to ſuch political mutation, that the ſtate is always preparing to be governed inſtead of gaining the advantages of government, then this form is a very important evil in ſubſtance. If, on the other hand, the political action in a ſtate is ſo torpid, that the minds of men are never agitated by political queſtions, one conſiderable part of human education is left out, and though this omiſſion may be deſirable at a certain age, or rather nonage, of a nation, the ſooner it begins to develope into ſomething ad-

mitting of more political thought the better. In fact, forms of government may be as diverſified as the forms in nature of plants, of trees, of animals, provided there be the ſame adaptation in the one caſe as in the other to the ſurrounding circumſtances.

Again, there is a matter connected with the form of government or perhaps we ſhould rather ſay, connected with the ſpirit but expreſſed in the form, which is obviouſly of the higheſt importance; namely, the proportion obſerved in the original conſtitution of the different elements of power in the ſtate. For example, how much depends in a free government upon the happy admixture of local and central authority! If there be too much local power, how much time will elapſe before the reſults of collected wiſdom and the experience of the ſhrewdeſt men in public affairs will be carried into the local adminiſtration: how much unkindneſs and ſeverity will be added to the local malignity already ſufficient in moſt places: how completely the imperial ideas are likely to be ſacrificed to petty privileges and near-ſighted intereſts. On the other hand, if the central power prevails too much, the minds and

energies of the ſmall communities dependent upon it are weakened by diſuſe: at the centre itſelf, too much influence falls into the hands of factions, ſo that ſuddenneſs becomes the arbitreſs of national affairs: and, moreover there is danger of everything being ſacrificed to any one idea, or fancy, prevailing at the ſeat of government.

Similar dangers may be ſhown to exiſt in any government that is partly repreſentative and partly autocratic, if the juſt proportions are not well maintained and room not given for both principles to do their work in. The vague, querulous, diſjointed, clamorous, inconcluſive way of tranſacting affairs which belongs to legiſlative aſſemblies, would abſolutely prevent all peace and proſperity in a country where there was no autocratic power to counteract the evil. And by autocratic power I do not mean only that which may emanate from a preſident, a king, a conſul, or a dictator, but that for inſtance, which reſults from the hoarded weight of wiſdom and reputation which may belong to any one man, and which does in our own time belong to one eminent perſon in our own ſenate, whoſe view of a queſtion is ſomething quite different in its effect from that of any other member in the Houſe of Lords, however

eminent. Again, if the autocratic element prevail too much, that happens to the whole community which was ſhown as likely to happen to ſmall dependent communities when the central power is too great; namely, that there will be a ſad apathy about political affairs, for men ſeldom think or care much about matters which they can ſcarcely ever hope to influence.

The reſult of all I have ſaid about forms of government, is to ſhow that it would be very pedantic to pronounce upon any form of government as beſt for any particular country without a large conſideration of its circumſtances; that there are peculiar dangers belonging to each form of government; and that much care muſt always be given to enſure a juſt combination of the various elements of power in a ſtate.

2. OBJECTS OF GOVERNMENT.

In the firſt place, let us be careful not to limit too much the objects of government. Governments in paſt ages having interfered ſo much, and often ſo unwiſely, has given us a peculiar diſtaſte for what we call government interference, and has made men contented to accept a very low view of

the objects and purposes of government. But government is not merely police. It is something personal; it has a representative character; its business is not confined to the care of life and property; it has in fact some national part to play in the world, some great character to sustain. In short, it seems to me that the just idea of government is not fulfilled unless it acts with the greatness of soul and the extent of insight and foresight of the best men in the state, and with the power of the whole body, in those matters which cannot be accomplished by individual exertion. Now this is what many a man expresses unconsciously when he exclaims, "The government should undertake this great work; should reward this eminent man, promote that discovery, encourage that art;" or words to that effect. He means that the government should express the wisdom and gratitude of the best part of the nation in a way which that part could not do, or ought not to be expected to do, by its own individual exertion. I am asked then a question, which has been one of the difficulties of modern times, Is a government to have a religion? Is there to be such a thing as a state conscience? To which I say at once, yes. It is to act with the conscience of its wisest and best men

in matters of religion as well as in all other matters; and so it does in the course of ages.

But to descend to some of its daily occupations. One of the first things for a government is self-preservation. Complaint has been made, that Bacon and other writers upon politics of his time insist too much upon preserving the sovereign's rights and powers: I am far from thinking that this care of theirs was mere time-serving, and am inclined to think that there ought to be a similar care and apprehension for all governments on the part of wise men who are in them or live under them. "How is the king's government to be carried on?"—a memorable question asked by a great man of our own day—is one which should be frequently present to the minds of all persons in authority, or possessing influence.

Now this care for self-preservation on the part of government, may seem to be a selfish thing and likely to lead to mere repressiveness and inactivity; but these are not the means by which I consider that self-preservation will ever be effected. On the contrary, I believe that if governors and people in authority really understood human nature, they would perceive that some judicious activity on their part is the only thing which can give life to their institutions. There is no strength in stag-

nation: cautious paſſiveneſs and official negativeneſs will be found very inſignificant barriers againſt evil either in quiet or in turbulent times; and ſuch ways are eſpecially to be eſchewed in the ſtill times juſt before turbulence.

I do not mean by this to recommend the mere pretence of action, in order to amuſe, or terrify, or divert the attention of a people: ſtill leſs to ſuggeſt anything like the intenſe wickedneſs, of which we have ſeen inſtances in our times, of undertaking unjuſt exploits abroad to keep peace at home. Theſe, like all falſe ways, only put off the evil day of reckoning. But the object of a government ſhould be to breed up the men under it to do with leſs and leſs of it, or ſo to extend its action, that if its interference and control are not diminiſhed, it is only becauſe its ſphere of uſefulneſs is enlarged. People in authority ſhould underſtand that government muſt be a thing of growth; muſt attend to, if not comprehend, the future. On the contrary, many of them have not even been provident about the means of perpetuating their own ſyſtem, much leſs of making it grow into anything better.

This brings me to the conſideration of one of the great objects of government both as regards ſelf-preſervation and the general welfare of the

ſtate. I allude to the breeding up of ſucceſſors. I believe that almoſt the greateſt teſt of wiſe men being in power, is that they are anxious to provide ſucceſſors. This loving care for futurity is an equal proof of their goodneſs and their ſagacity. And, as regards their own renown, ſurely that man's life muſt be pronounced a great failure whoſe purpoſes die with him. That is why many a potent conqueror ſeems now ſo ſmall a perſon in our eyes. The ſame principles hold good in private life. A man of juſt and open mind is careful to bring up thoſe around him to do without him. As head of a family, or an office, or a magiſtracy, he looks around him from time to time, to ſee who can take his place, and how he can be beſt educated to do ſo. On the other hand, a graſping tenure of power is the evidence of ſelfiſhneſs or ſenility. Looking down the long lines of hiſtory, it is to be obſerved, I think, that thoſe who have been moſt capable of uſing power well, have clung with the leaſt tenacity to it.

The objects then of government, briefly ſtated, ſhould be commenſurate with thoſe wants of humanity which cannot be ſupplied at all, or as well, by individual action, or by any corporate body leſs than the ſtate: theſe wants will vary accord-

ing to time and place, will be fewer in one country than in another, but in no country that I know of, are they at preſent otherwiſe than very numerous and very imperative.

3. MODE AND MEANS OF GOVERNMENT.

Before entering into the details of this branch of the ſubject, it will be worth while to conſider what are the eſſential difficulties of government in the abſtract. The firſt difficulty that will occur to moſt perſons is the variety of men's minds. "Quot homines, tot ſententiæ!" So many men, ſo many opinions, as the proverb ſays. But after all, this is not the greateſt difficulty. However numerous and various the elements for calculation, the problem would be certainly ſoluble if the elements were known. But in governing men theſe elements are not known. The difficulty is, to underſtand men's minds; and, from the iſolation in which all living creatures dwell, this can never be more than approximated to. More than one great thinker of this generation has ſtudied this iſolation, but its effects have not been thought of as regards their bearing upon government. Yet in the earlieſt ſtages and the firſt forms of govern-

ment, this is the greateſt difficulty. How hard it is (almoſt impoſſible) to come at the mind even of a child! People will grow up together, will live together in ſome bond of affection, and with ſome harmony; and yet the moſt important parts of the nature of each be unknown to the other, and remain undeveloped. Extending our view from the firſt form of human government, the paternal, through all the ſtages of domeſtic and ſocial government, till we come to ſtateſmanſhip, the ſame law of mental iſolation pervading, the ſame difficulty of governing prevails. Shrouded for the moſt part in a miſt, each individual mind, though it may be partially revealed to us by ſympathy, is ſeldom or never completely ſeen or comprehended.

How do the above conſiderations apply to Government in its largeſt ſenſe? Obviouſly in many ways. Factious minorities rule, perſuading themſelves and thoſe around them that they are the voice of the nation. It is from this iſolation of mind, which it requires conſiderable imagination to penetrate at all, that different claſſes miſunderſtand each other as individuals do. How often, in all ages, have the governors miſunderſtood the governed; and the governed (having leſs of the

power of making their way by imagination into the minds of other men) ſtill more miſunderſtood their governors. Moreover, in government, it often happens that ſecond-rate men of low deſires and peculiarly unimaginative natures (who are called practical becauſe they lack imagination, or becauſe they have been ſucceſsful for themſelves,) are liſtened to, and that too on critical occaſions; and their want of underſtanding the ſouls of men is fatal. Again, the difficulty of underſtanding men is the leading difficulty in the choice of agents: and indeed it enters into all the varied queſtions of government—as, indeed, into all the relations of life. It may be ſaid that the above-mentioned evils and difficulties are cauſed by a deficiency of perception and imagination. But why are great powers of perception and imagination wanted? To counteract the difficulties ariſing from men's minds being ſet apart from each other and therefore hard to comprehend.

Another great difficulty in government is the difficulty of conjoint action: I mean the difficulty of coming to a reſult, and ſtill more of predicating one, when many people are met together to do or to determine any thing. In order to form ſome notion of the difficulties inherent in conjoint

action, it is advisable to observe it in the simplest instances. Suppose that two men have to walk to a particular place at which they are both minded to arrive at the same time, in which case therefore their wills and opinions are the same as regards the main object in pursuit. But their walking together may very much vary the result, and if a third person had to calculate with exactness upon the result, he would have to consider what the effect might be of their companionship. Emulation might quicken the pace of both: good nature might retard the pace of one to accommodate the other. The way might be lost in the animation of conversation, or their joint sagacity might find an easier route than either alone would have discovered. But this is a very simple case. Here, the same action is performed by both men and is not the result of combined activity. But now suppose that a cannon so placed as to command an important pass is to be fired by fifteen persons, and cannot be fired without the fifteen combining to do so at the same time, each having to pull some wire that is necessary for the purpose. No one is to give the word of command. They have however talked the matter over, and have resolved at what point in the ap-

proach of the enemy, it would be beſt to fire; moreover, they are all true ſtaunch men, and mean to make a good defence. Still I ſhould be very ſorry to have much of my country's welfare dependent upon that cannon's going off at the right time, or indeed of its going off at all. Theſe may be thought ſlight and inſufficient inſtances; but they may bring the difficulty of conjoint action home to the mind; and ſome of the ſame cauſes that operate in theſe minor inſtances will operate in the greateſt. In Cabinets, Privy Councils, Committees, Aſſemblies, Parliaments, Commiſſions, and, indeed, in all bodies met for the conduct or determination of buſineſs, not only will vanity and envy be developed by the preſence of numbers; but the feeling of reſponſibility will be leſſened; unwiſe reliance on others be encouraged; indolence find good grounds for being indulged in; the paſſions be quickened; and the queſtion often be buried under, or miſlaid amongſt, a variety of opinions and ſuggeſtions. To form an accurate judgment of what will happen, you have to allow not only for the variety of men's opinions, but for the difference of their powers of attention and of their pertinacity. If we could know the number of reſolutions which have been carried un-

der the influence of mere fatigue and diſguſt, we ſhould be aſtoniſhed at the effect that wearineſs and fear of "damnable iteration," as Falſtaff calls it, have produced. Beſides, the hours are largely waſted in theſe diſcuſſions or attempts at conjoint action; it becomes time to do ſomething, or to come to ſome reſolve, and what happens to be neareſt at hand and moſt practicable at the moment, is at laſt in a hurry determined upon. Often the confuſion ariſing from all theſe ſources is ſuch, that though conſiderable activity is manifeſted in the diſcuſſions and labours of theſe bodies of men which we have been conſidering, the reſult, as in the perturbations of the planets, is found equal to nothing, as La Place conſoles us by ſhowing.

I have not dwelt upon the above difficulty with a view to depreciate conjoint action and deliberation, which we muſt have if we would avoid deſpotiſm, but I wiſh merely to point out an eſſential difficulty in all government, and one which in this country (where there are ſo many minor governing bodies for affairs of commerce) it is very deſirable ſhould be thought of and inveſtigated, and limits put, if poſſible, to the evils attending upon it.

The above conſiderations, (eſpecially thoſe re-

ferring to the iſolation of mind) may ſeem too ſubtle, or too plain; but the moſt arduous and complicated queſtions in life are generally reſolvable into their primeval elements of difficulty, and ſhould be occaſionally looked at in that way. The great queſtions of human nature are ever coming before us in new forms; for civilization does not help us to eſcape from ourſelves, but only by conjoint action to make the moſt of ourſelves.

To proceed now with the means of government in detail. Incomparably the firſt means is the procurement of able men; not tools, but men. It is very hard to propheſy of any buſineſs or affair in the world, how it will turn out; but it cannot be a bad thing to have an able man to deal with it. The Chineſe government has now ſubſiſted many generations, proceeding upon the principle of chooſing the beſt men for official employment. I do not ſay they have gone the beſt way to chooſe them, but their intention has been to find them, if they could. Such a ſpirit ſhould actuate every governing perſon, who ſhould conſider the man he appoints to an office as in ſome meaſure his repreſentative—a repreſentative, too,

as will often happen, for life. Governments will be ſure to have cauſe enough for ſhame, if they neglect this duty, for a bad appointment breaks out ſome day or other.

But the difficulty is to find able men. To hear ſome perſons talk, you would ſuppoſe that it was the ſimpleſt thing imaginable to make good appointments, and that it needed nothing but honeſty on the part of the perſon appointing. But ſound men of buſineſs are very rare, much more rare than any body would be likely to conjecture who had not had conſiderable experience of life. And what makes the difficulty greater is, that the faculty for buſineſs is ſeldom to be aſcertained by any à priori teſt. Formal examinations of all kinds fail.

For look what it is that you demand in a man of buſineſs! Talents for the particular buſineſs, the art of bringing out thoſe talents before the eyes of men, temper to deal with men, inventiveneſs together with prudence, and in addition to many other moral qualities, that of moral courage, which I have remarked to be the rareſt gift of all.

As it is, very many men fail from a want of proportion in their gifts. Here is a man ſo

clever that he apprehends almoſt anything, but there is a light flame of reſtleſs vanity underneath this ſuperficial cleverneſs, ſo that it is always boiling over when you do not want it. One man makes it his buſineſs to doubt, another to fear, another to hope, another to condemn; one is the ſlave of rules, another cannot conſtruct anything unleſs he have free ſpace for his theories which this old world does not now admit of. Many of theſe defects are not fully aſcertained until the man is abſolutely tried ("Capax imperii niſi imperaſſet"). On the other hand, there are men whoſe talents for governing are not developed until they are placed in power, like the Palm-branches which ſpring out only at the top of the tree. But ſtill theſe conſiderations muſt not induce men in authority to ſay that ſince choice is ſo difficult, it muſt be left to chance or favour, but it only ſhows how wary ſtateſmen ſhould be in their choice, and that when they once do get hold of a good man, how much they ſhould make of him.

Next to offices come honours as means at the diſpoſal of government. Cant, which is the creature of civilization and muſt be expected to at-

tain a great height as civilization advances, takes many forms; and one of the forms it has taken in modern times is the pretending to deſpiſe honours, calling them baubles, tinſel, toys, trappings and other hard names. This is all nonſenſe. They are very valuable things, and men of clear and open minds, who are after all leſs ignominiouſly ſwayed by ſuch things than other men, will tell you ſo. Nelſon's exclamation on going into action, "A peerage or Weſtminſter "Abbey," will find ſome reſponſe in the minds of many of the worthieſt amongſt us. In fact it is difficult for a government ſo to deteriorate and degrade its honours as to make them unacceptable.

Now, in conſidering the diſtribution of honours, I am not going to ſay anything Quixotic, ſuch as to pretend for a moment that they ſhould always be given ſtrictly according to merit. There are ſeveral reaſons why they ſhould not. In the firſt place, if they were always given according to merit, it would detract from the power of the ſovereign or governing authority of whatever kind. A ſovereign or a miniſter ſhould have it in his power, I think, occaſionally to confer honours upon a friend or adherent upon the

ſimple grounds of friendſhip, adherency, or liking; and it may be remarked, as I have noticed before, that the friends and favourites of the great, from Horace and Virgil downwards, have in general been remarkable men. Then again it ſhould not be declared that honours are to be given abſolutely according to merit for this reaſon, that it is impoſſible to provide the time, attention and ſkill requiſite for ſuch a diſtribution. Thirdly, if honours were ſuppoſed to be given ſtrictly according to merit, how much that ſuppoſition would aggravate the diſcomfort of the unſucceſsful, that is, of the great majority of us in the world. At preſent, men find ready conſolation in the thought, which is a juſt one, that not only is merit frequently left unrewarded, but that oftentimes it ſtands fatally in the way of worldly ſucceſs.

Having now given ſeveral reaſons againſt attempting to make honours entirely dependant upon merit, I may with more boldneſs affirm, that it is indiſpenſable to confer many of them according to real deſert. Otherwiſe government parts with a ſubſtantial ſource of power and influence. In the creation of any order or dignity, there may be inſtances of favouritiſm or of yielding to ſecond-

rate and partially unworthy motives; but if the order or dignity is not to loſe much of its ſavour with mankind, it muſt contain and illuſtrate a fair amount of worth and ſervice.

In order to make the honours more deſirable and capable of being more eaſily dealt with, they ſhould be of various kinds and even ſome of the very higheſt amongſt them ſhould not require the poſſeſſion of fortune in the perſon honoured. Finally it ſhould be remembered that the diſtribution of honours is one of the eſpecial functions of government: which like coinage, taxation, or the declaration of peace or war, cannot be performed by private individuals. It is a caſe where the ſtate comes in as a perſon and proclaims "This is the man whom the king delighteth to honour." If the king delights to honour fooliſh people, or people, as Hamlet deſcribes them, merely "ſpacious in the poſſeſſion of dirt," the honours will be accordingly depreciated, and government will have debaſed this important function of conferring honours, a proceeding as injurious in its way as debaſing the coinage would be in its.

In coming now to the mode of government, i. e. the way of applying the means of govern-

ment, it muſt be firſt obſerved how difficult it is to enter upon ſuch a ſubject without going much into detail; and, moreover, for the ſuggeſtions to be of moſt practical uſe, they muſt have ſome reference to the modes of government at preſent exiſting. There is no country which has been a country of great affairs for many years that will not have adopted various excellent devices for the furtherance of buſineſs. The form for inſtance of a Cabinet and many of the Cabinet arrangements for buſineſs in this country, are the reſult of much adaptation, and could not eaſily be amended. It is obvious that in every form of government conſiderable attention ſhould be paid to the diſtribution of functions amongſt the great officers of ſtate; and that care muſt be taken to make the functions of theſe officers grow and change with the growth and fluctuation of the affairs of the country. In our own country the great officers of ſtate are too few. I do not preſume to ſpeak of any diviſion of the Lord Chancellor's functions, not being converſant with them. But the preſent duties of the Home Secretary might be divided, I think, with great advantage. Let there be a Miniſter of Juſtice, who ſhould have direction in all official matters connected with the courſe of juſtice and the

maintenance of order. The cuſtody of lunatics is a branch of the Lord Chancellor's functions which might well devolve on this new officer. The other Home Secretary might retain the name of Home Secretary, and be intruſted with all matters appertaining to the education, health, and ſuſtenance of the people.

Again, it appears that, for a very long time, the duties of Colonial Secretary have been too much for any one man. Where is the difficulty of having two Colonial Miniſters: one for Canada and the Weſt Indies; and the other, taking the management of all the other colonies, and being called the Colonial Miniſter? Does any one who knows anything about the ſubject, doubt of there being enough buſineſs in the Colonial Office to employ any two of the greateſt minds in the country as chiefs of that department?

But there may then be too many in the Cabinet. If ſo, remove thoſe officers who have leſs diſtinguiſhed functions. The Paymaſter of the Forces and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter have ſometimes been in the Cabinet. Let them give place to the Miniſter of Juſtice and to the Secretary for Canada and the Weſt Indies. I am well aware of the advantage of having occaſionally

one or two places in the Cabinet for men who cannot undertake the management of laborious departments. But, without going further into detail, I feel confident that Cabinets will not be greatly embarraſſed in finding room in ſome way or other for the two great officers propoſed.

Having now ſuppoſed the buſineſs divided amongſt certain departments, and fit perſons choſen to preſide over theſe departments, and able men ſelected to fill the ſubordinate offices; there is ſtill to my mind a want of ſomething which I think may be noticed in all Governments of modern times, and that is, a power of attracting from time to time freſh ability and freſh views, and putting the department in reaſonable communication with the world about it. I believe that what I am going to ſay is new, and being new and therefore unpractiſed, it is liable to the objection of not being practicable. I am ſure, however, that the deficiency I have noticed does exiſt, that it will not be ſupplied by Committees of the Legiſlative body, nor even by permanent commiſſions; and therefore any way of attempting to ſupply this deficiency may at leaſt deſerve attention. What is wanted is to bring more intellectual power within command of the

heads of departments, and moreover that this power ſhould neither be elicited in a hoſtile manner, nor on the other hand that it ſhould be too ſubſervient. It ſhould rather be attainable without the walls of an office than within. It ſhould be at hand for a miniſter; but it ſhould not be too cloſely mixed up with ordinary official life. The plan then is this, that there ſhould be gradually formed, in connection with the two or three firſt departments of the ſtate, a body of able men not bound down to regular official employment, but who ſhould be eligible for ſpecial purpoſes—for the miniſter to deviſe with, to conſult, to be informed by. There will be a likelihood of freer range of thought and more enterpriſe amongſt ſuch men than amongſt thoſe uniformly engaged in official duty. They would be of the nature of Counſellors to a Department, without forming the check and hindrance that a council would be. It can hardly be doubted that it would often be an immenſe advantage to a miniſter, to be able to call in a man of known ability, converſant with the department and yet not much tied by it, to hear his opinion upon ſome difficult diſpute (from the colonies for inſtance) in which both the miniſter and his ſubordinates may be liable to err

from their very knowledge of the parties. Then, again, what a gain it would be to place on this ſtaff men of long ſtanding in the colonies who had returned to paſs the remainder of their lives here, of whoſe experience the miniſter might well avail himſelf. This ſame body would give the miniſter a means of chooſing official men ſuch as has never been deviſed. It ſhould not have any collective power. Parliament is ſufficient check upon any miniſter. In modern times miniſters want ſtrength more than reſtraint.

Having treated, though neceſſarily with great brevity, of the form, the objects, and the mode and means of government, I come now to what is perhaps the moſt important part of the ſubject: namely, how the governed ought to regard government. People forget, when they talk of government as a thing apart from themſelves, how large a portion of the motive force of government they are themſelves, and what duties therefore are incumbent upon them. Now, he who does not bring into government, whether as governor or ſubject, ſome religious feeling, by which I do not mean anything that he may find excluſively in the church of England, or the church of Rome,

or any other church in the world, but who does not fulfil his duties to his fellow man from ſome higher motive than expediency or the intention to fulfil the conditions of ſome imaginary ſocial contract, is likely to make but an indifferent governor or an indifferent ſubject. It is from the abſence of this pious feeling that all ſyſtems of government which are merely the creations of logic, (of which an Abbé Sièyes can make two in a morning) are ſo liable to be upſet, perhaps as ſpeedily as they are made. You talk of rights, duties, powers, checks, counter-checks, citizenſhip, patriotiſm, and get up all the apparatus of government, and yet it breaks down with next to no weight upon it. And why? "Each man," as the Poet Thomſon ſaid when his friend wanted him to marry ſome lady of many charms and merits, but who had not the charm of being lovable in the poet's eyes, "Each "man has an uncontrolable imagination of his "own." So, as regards theſe quickly-made ſyſtems of government, in which no appeal is made to anything above humanity, a man ſays, This may be all very well, but it is a ſcheme that does not ſuit me; I am not your creature; and he forthwith ſets to work to demoliſh a ſcheme or form of government which has not the leaſt divinity in

his eyes; which does not ſuit his "uncontrolable "imagination."

But men ought to be ſo brought up as to look with a reverent eye upon the civil ordinances of life. Almoſt the greateſt diſtinction between wiſe and good men and the thoughtleſs and reckleſs is, that the former are ever anxious to get the utmoſt good out of all that is around them. They ſee that what with the difficulty occaſioned by the acute diſorders of the world, ſuch as failing harveſts, wars, peſtilences—and alſo by the chronic complaints, namely, the daily troubles and diſtreſſes of life, government is a very ſerious matter, and they learn to regard it religiouſly. They ſee, or perhaps feel more than ſee, that withal there is a ſpirit of beneficence and order throughout creation, and they are conſcious that they are acting in conſonance with the great laws of the univerſe and the will of their maker in endeavouring to make human affairs go on well and wiſely. This reference to ſomething above them and beyond them gives earneſtneſs to their wiſh to improve civil inſtitutions, takes away reckleſſneſs in doing ſo, repreſſes ſelfiſhneſs, eſtabliſhes juſtice and reproves ſelf-will. Without piety there will be no good government.

In free countries, (and ſince conſtitutional modes

of government are ſpreading, more countries will come under the denomination of free), a large body of the people will be required to act in a ſpirit of piety, not only in regard to their duties as ſubjects, but as governors; for with them reſts the choice of repreſentatives. It becomes incumbent upon them to ſeek out wiſe and good men to repreſent them, always remembering that the wiſeſt and beſt will have to be ſought for, and that they will be the leaſt likely to fall in at once with all the prejudices of their conſtituents. In ancient days, cities of the Roman Empire would pray to be allowed to build a temple to the reigning emperor. Not giving way to impulſes of ſervility, but anxious to take a noble part in imperial tranſactions, in dignifying the empire to which they belong. Cities have now an opportunity of doing ſo by nominating men of worth to repreſent them. If excluſively led by local influences, yielding to clamour, ſhowing no confidence in what is great, appreciating no worth that will not ſquare exactly with their preſent views, allured by fooliſh, glittering, or bitter words, or ſtill worſe if baſely bought by money, repreſentative bodies entruſt great functions to unworthy perſons, let them no longer complain of any doings of the imperial go-

vernment or expect that their groſs delinquency in the early ſtages of the formation of government will ſomehow or other be remedied before the ſuperſtructure is completed; that what is corrupt in its firſt growth is to be pure in its full-blown maturity; that Cedars of Lebanon will be developed from fungi on the wall.

ELLESMERE. I wiſh you could give a volume to this ſubject; but no—on ſecond thoughts I do not. Your volume might be treated with more reſpect than an eſſay, but would be put aſide with other ſolemn works upon the ſubject, whereas the eſſay has ſome chance of being read. It was only the other day that I was reading in one of Hallam's books an account of the works of ſome writer on government, and they ſeemed to me to be admirably fitted for the preſent day as well as for all time, but the author's name was one I had never heard of before, and the treatiſe being a laborious and learned one will of courſe remain unknown to the generality of people. And then again, if you were to write a book you would begin to think how to fill it up inſtead of ſtudying, as in an eſſay, how to contract to the uttermoſt what you have to ſay.

DUNSFORD. I thoroughly approve of what you have ſaid about the ſpirit in which government is to be regarded by both the governors and the governed.

ELLESMERE. The pith of that is the advice to electors. The fault in the preſent day is not that popular feeling is not ſufficiently repreſented, but that the intellect of the country is not. Political education is, in compariſon with other branches of education, highly developed here. Conſider the manner in which newſpapers are conducted. How admirably on the whole they (I ſpeak of them as if they were perſons) have behaved throughout theſe trying times. It were to be wiſhed that more of the ſtateſman-like ability which is rife in the country ſhould find its way into parliament.

MILVERTON. Or that miniſters were more independent of parliament, at leaſt in the choice of official men.

DUNSFORD. I am ſure that the ordeal which men have to go through in order to become members of parliament, or to continue ſuch, is of a kind which muſt be peculiarly offenſive to ſome of the minds we ſhould moſt like to ſee mixed up with public affairs.

MILVERTON. Yes, of courſe; that is one of the drawbacks upon repreſentative government. The evil might be mitigated though by creating a certain number of official ſeats in parliament—ſay for the firſt and ſecond office in each department. Some of the fitteſt men to be liſtened to, are amongſt thoſe who have neither the leiſure, the money, nor the temperament, to

cultivate a conſtituency. The plan of ex-officio ſeats would greatly add to the independence of public men.

ELLESMERE. It is by no means a new ſuggeſtion.

MILVERTON. A ſuggeſtion may be ever ſo old; but it is not exhauſted, until it is acted upon, or rejected on ſufficient reaſon.

ELLESMERE. I think miniſters of late years have been too much afraid of parliament. I believe if they would attempt leſs in the way of legiſlation, prepare what they do intend to do with great care, and inſiſt upon carrying out their intentions, things would get on much better.

But let me tell you a ſtory. My friend —, the great traveller, was lately deſcribing to me the polity, if ſo it may be called, of a nation that lives ſomewhere between ſome mountains and ſome ſeas, I forget where, but the boys at the neareſt national ſchool would be able to tell you if you only gave them one or two facts to go upon. Well, my friend tells me that when anything of political intereſt occurs amongſt this people (whoſe name I have forgotten) everything that is fooliſh or wiſe, kind or uncharitable, true or falſe, is allowed to be ſaid upon it in all parts of the nation; then throughout their territory theſe ſavages collect together in little knots, dance and howl and rave and dreſs themſelves in ribbons. From theſe minor aſſemblages they ſelect two or three individuals, my friend could not make out for what reaſon, but you know how difficult it is to underſtand a foreign people's ways. Sometimes he thought it was for their fatneſs, ſometimes for their youth and innocence, ſometimes the

choice appeared to be connected with the favourite liquor of the country; there seemed to be no rule of any kind. These individuals for whatever reason chosen, were then elevated upon little stages, which appeared to have the effect of making them talk wildly and at random; and my friend conjectured, that as we say here "in "vino veritas," so there it was held, that upon these stages whatever folly was in a man was sure to come out of him. One or two of these exalted individuals were then chosen, it seemed to be for a quality that we should much approve in our schoolboys, for as he observed, those were chiefly favoured who could repeat like a lesson learnt by heart most quickly and with most alacrity the cries uttered by the howling multitudes around them. All the individuals thus chosen were brought into a large booth surrounded by several smaller ones. Then some very odd ceremonies took place, almost of a musical kind. One of the people in the big booth would get up and say something, as my friend conjectured, about the matter in hand; then another said the same thing with more words and a little stammering; a third repeated the same thing with more words and more confusion; and, perhaps, introduced some new sayings of his own which, however, had nothing to do with the question and at which they all laughed. There appeared to be a chorus and an anti-chorus, each having its peculiar tune. So the clamour would go on, like an air with many variations, for days, weeks, months, years, varied by occasional dancings in and out from the large booth to the small ones, which

ſeemed to be a very exciting buſineſs. At laſt when the ſubject had been danced upon and ſung about till they were tired, ſomething was done or ſomething was agreed not to be done. Very frequently a ſudden gravity or wiſdom, (the reſult my friend thought of the weather) would fall upon the people generally and upon the ſmall ſection of it in the great booth; and then they ceaſed their ſinging and dancing, embraced one another, ſaid they were of one mind, and one and all joined in bearing out with pomp to the great tombs of the nation the dead body of ſome wiſe reſolve which they might have carried into effect long ago, and which might have been of great uſe to them.

But my friend ſaid they ſeemed to be a contented people, for at leaſt no man amongſt them could ſay that his folly had not had a hearing.

This is a ſtrange ſtory; but travellers do tell ſtrange ſtories.

MILVERTON. You may ridicule anything you know, Elleſmere.

ELLESMERE. How very jealous theſe writers are! nobody's fables are to be admitted but their own, or what is like their own. If my narrative had been a little more delicate and refined, and not told in my broad coarſe way, but in reality a great deal more ſevere, Milverton would have ſaid it was very clever and very appropriate.

MILVERTON. You would make out all our proceedings to be ſuch folly, whereas we know that really very

great and ſolid improvements in legiſlation have been effected in the laſt half century. What I am at preſent afraid of is, leſt a certain vulgarity of political thinking ſhould prevail. That word vulgarity is rather vague, but will expreſs to you what I mean; that kind of thinking or feeling which induces men to ſacrifice the future and obliterate the paſt for the ſake of the preſent; which deſpiſes all that is chivalrous, recognizes no indirect advantages, does not conceive that there may be a national ſoul as well as a national ſtomach, would willingly ſee a colony drift away if it could not be proved to have returned five per cent in hard caſh on the outlay of the mother country. This vulgarity of thinking is ramified in various directions, and will appear in the way of diſcuſſing things as well as in the concluſions arrived at.

Now I believe that vulgarity is generally as much oppoſed to wiſdom as it is to good taſte.

Ellesmere. Give me your hand: I forgive you for your depreciation of my traveller's ſtory in conſideration of that laſt ſentence of yours: and I will even be audacious enough to add another clauſe to the aphoriſm. Vulgarity is generally as much oppoſed to wiſdom as it is to good taſte; and good taſte is too indolent to take the trouble of proving the near relationſhip between herſelf and wiſdom.

Lucy. May I go back to the travels of Mr. Elleſmere's friend and aſk whether there was anything elſe talked in theſe booths beſides politics?

Ellesmere. Yes, Miſs Daylmer. This ſavage tribe

was not ſo ſupremely happy but that they had law ſuits ſometimes to make them happier.

MILVERTON. That reminds me of ſaying that I think perhaps the greateſt legal reforms are to be obtained by official reforms. As things now are, the court of Chancery, ſaving your preſence, Elleſmere, is the thing moſt reſembling the Holy Office of former times. It is the Proteſtant Inquiſition, only that, inſtead of confining its victims in dungeons, it allows them to go about for a time, juſt as if they were not ruined, but they know better.

ELLESMERE. I ſhall thwart your intention of dragging me into a defence of the Court of Chancery by going back to your projected official reform, or rather official addition—your imaginary Council. Will they coſt any thing, theſe gentlemen?

MILVERTON. Certainly, for you cannot rely upon work that is given: but, coſt what it will, let us be well governed. The general ſatisfaction ariſing from wiſe conduct in the executive is almoſt inappreciable in money. A hundred thouſand a year more ſpent in getting head-work done for the ſtate would probably be moſt economical expenditure.

ELLESMERE. Yes I agree to that. Let me aſk another queſtion. Are theſe Councillors to be known?

MILVERTON. Yes, as well known as the under Secretaries and Clerks of the departments.

ELLESMERE. Well now I will tell you my opinion. The ſcheme I think is a good one—too good to be car-

ried into effect. The Minister who should propose it would be liable to be told he had all manner of mean and selfish ends in view, and that would scare most public men.

MILVERTON. I can only say, it ought not. Any man who does understand at all the question of official reform ought to make a point of bringing forward his views, if only from the consideration that these subjects will always lack popular breezes.

ELLESMERE. Reverting to the general subject, Milverton, I am not sure that the essay does not tend too much to bureaucracy.

MILVERTON. No, indeed! This busy, bustling, energetic England is the last place where there is any danger of bureaucracy, as you call it: and we often do want some moulding power to put all this energy into form.

ELLESMERE. Well, I believe no harm would come from strengthening the executive intellectually. If we found official people riding us with too sharp a curb, we should soon throw them over our heads. And it is a great grievance not to have things well administered. There is a capital passage in one of Sir Francis Palgrave's books saying, how mal-administration in little things forms the current of public discontents. I forget the words.

MILVERTON. There is something I wanted to say in the Essay, but I did not see how to bring it in—and I am not sure that I can fully explain myself even to you. I should like to introduce more of the feeling of person-

ality in the executive. Perſonality is not the word perhaps; but you know what I mean.

ELLESMERE. Yes, I have ſome dim notion. You told us you would have a ſtate conſcience.

MILVERTON. Yes, but this does not, of neceſſity, declare that a ſtate muſt hold certain theological tenets and enforce them by bayonets, teſt acts, or other extreme modes of reaſoning. As a land-owner, in the government of a private eſtate on which perſons of different religions dwell together, may govern equitably, without at the ſame time ceaſing to uphold his own opinions by fair means, ſo may a ſtate. But, at any rate, if the idea of a ſtate is not to convey a diſtinct intellectual being, it ſhould have a diſtinct moral being. It ſhould give us the idea of the beſt man of that day and country, if not of the beſt theologian. Where the executive differs from law, is in its poſſeſſing perſonality. It is not an immoveable ſcientific apparatus, but repreſents fleſh and blood, and is fleſh and blood. A good executive officer feels in all he does that he is fulfilling a part, however ſmall, of the functions of a creature that has rights and duties. He will not defraud it, nor ſuffer it to defraud others. A monarchy helps to keep this perſonality before us.

The idea of a conſcience belonging to bodies of men has been ridiculed—and no wonder, conſidering what we have known men do in their collective capacity throughout all ages. But it means ſimply this, that duties follow power. A railway board has to ſatisfy its

conſcience reſpecting the matters which it has taken in hand.

Ellesmere. What do you ſay, Dunsford, to all this? You are ſure, though, to be glad of getting in a conſcience, though but a ſtate one.

Dunsford. I have felt all along out of my depth, having no experience in any of theſe matters. But Milverton's views ſeem to me to be likely to enſure more humanity in adminiſtration.

Ellesmere. But now, Milverton, I wiſh, inſtead of indulging us with all manner of generalities about ſtate conſciences and ſuch things, you would give us ſome of the reſults of your own experience of official life. You often talk about what a ſad thing it is that men ſhould be ſubdued by their trade or calling; but, I obſerve, your ſhort experience of official life has impreſſed upon you an alarming amount of official cautiouſneſs. You very rarely talk about the men you muſt have obſerved or their ways of buſineſs: all this with you is "altâ mente "repoſtum," merely coming out in aphoriſms and dark ſayings of various kinds.

Milverton. Well, I will tell you what ſtruck me moſt in official life—the ſingular honeſty and good intention with which it is carried on in England. I do not mean merely the common honeſty of not betraying ſecrets and not ſeeking after ſiniſter purpoſes—that merit official people ſhare with bankers, clerks and the mercantile community in general, whoſe honeſty is ſomething wonderful—but I mean the leſs obvious honeſty of being

careful that things ſhould be fairly conſidered and that right ſhould be done. I believe, and with ſome experience of the ſubject, that if the private letter-books of moſt miniſters of modern times could be laid open to the public, containing copies of thoſe letters marked "private and confidential," the public would ſoon throw them down in diſguſt as unreadable, from their not containing anything wrong or ſcandalous, and therefore not being at all amuſing. Where I do think we may find ſome fault, as I have ſaid before, is in the want of courage in official men. You ſee the ordeal they have to undergo from the Preſs and Parliament is ſuch, that we, the public, have long ago ſurmounted the danger of miniſters doing anything fraudulent or unconſtitutional; *now* our fear ought to be, leſt they ſhould be too much afraid of us to undertake what they think right. It is the ſame in dealing with public as with private agents. If you look too ſharply after them, they will endeavour to eſcape your blame rather than to do your buſineſs. Of courſe there will be noble exceptions to this, but ſuch will be the general tendency.

ELLESMERE. I really believe you would have us imagine that ſtateſmen and official men are more honeſt than lawyers.

MILVERTON. No—not exactly that—but their (the ſtateſmen's) buſineſs is to find out what is right and ſerviceable—not what can be beſt ſaid or done for one ſide. The training is in that reſpect a good one for the mind.

ELLESMERE. And now, Miſs Daylmer, we have heard

next to nothing from you about government. Ah, you women are too wise to write or talk about what you know best how to practise. Suppose we were writing a formal essay on feminine government, how should we enumerate the means at the disposal of government. I should say, Poutings, sullenness, tears, dancing with some one else, judicious faintings, then half smiles half tears, loving looks—these things perpetually and rapidly succeeding one another—so that men's hearts would be harder than Alpine rocks if they could withstand such alternations of vinegar and sunshine.

Lucy. What we should need most would be sensible men for us to have to manage, which seems also, if I make out the essay, to be the greatest difficulty for your grand doings in government as for our little ones.

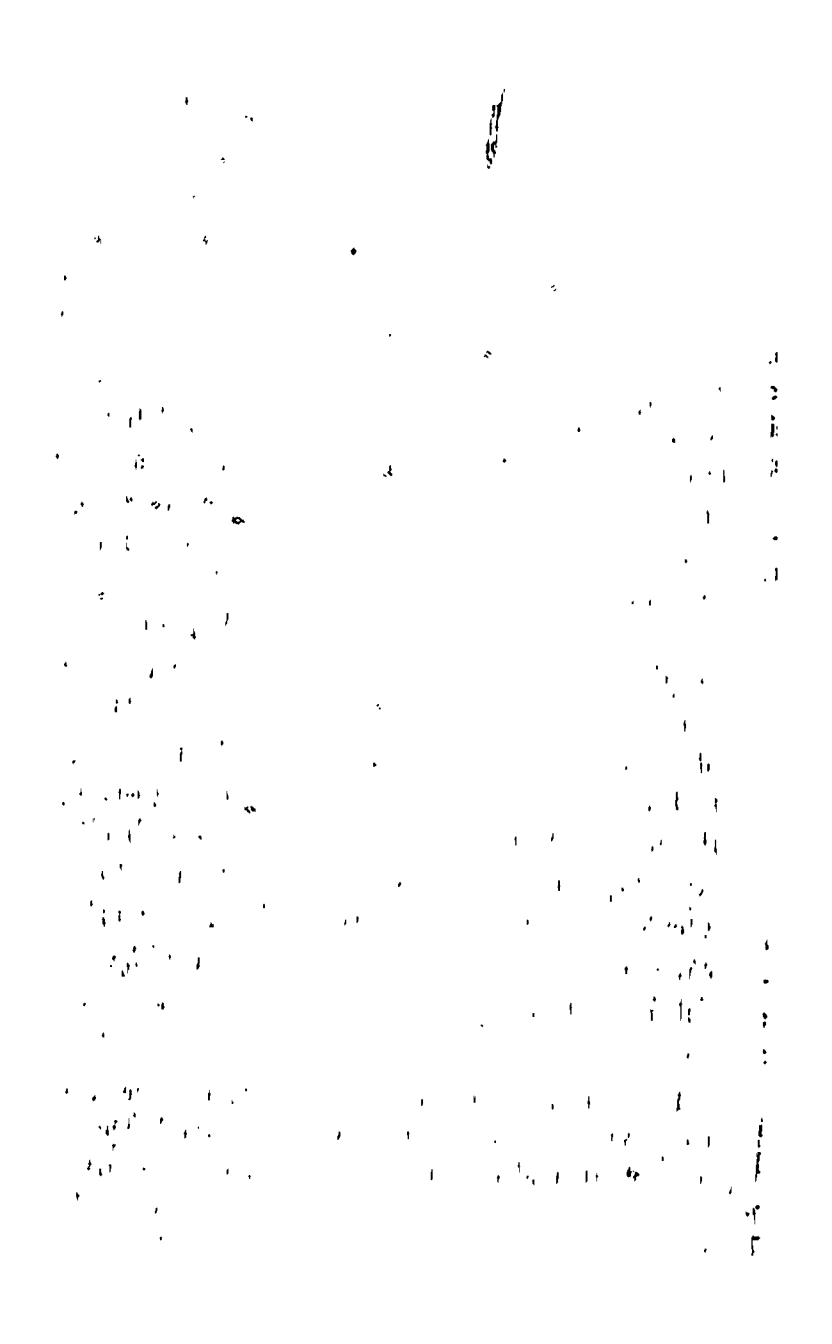
Dunsford. As Ellesmere and Lucy have begun to talk nonsense, Milverton, I think we may consider the conversation concluded and break up our sitting.

Ellesmere. No, I wanted to say something about honours. I quite agree with what you said about them, Milverton; but I want to show you the reason why they are so much desired in all ages. It occurred to me for the first time while you were reading. Men desire marks of honour for themselves, not to make a noise in the world and to be pointed out by the fingers of the passers-by, so much as in order to show their private friends that they are not such fools as these friends say they are, and to quell domestic malignity.

Milverton. It is not malignity, Ellesmere; at least

very often not. It is frequently mere ignorance. If you had a younger brother, for inſtance, of great muſical talents, his gaining any honour or reward for their exerciſe would prove to you the exiſtence of thoſe talents in a way which you would never have arrived at for yourſelf. Your reſpect for him would probably be increaſed, as you found it was agreed upon by thoſe who ſhould know, that he could do ſomething well. Honours, you ſee, not only reward merit, but declare its exiſtence.

ELLESMERE. I ſuppoſe you are right: at any rate you will be able to outvote me, for I can ſee you have Dunſford and Miſs Daylmer on your ſide. But let us leave off now talking about government, and have a walk. Thank goodneſs I have not many perſons to govern—only myſelf and my clerk. The former though often contrives to give me a great deal of trouble.



SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

As the following eſſays are all upon the ſame ſubject, I bring them together, although they were not read in the ſame place or in the ſame year, as will be ſeen; and, indeed, did not always follow in the order in which I have placed them.

A ſhort time after our laſt reading, Milverton mentioned that he ſhould be ready to read ſomething more to us, and intimated that it would be of a graver character than what we had been uſed to hear of late from him. Notwithſtanding the threatened gravity, Lucy begged me to let her accompany me; and Elleſmere did not refuſe to attend. We met at our accuſtomed place in Milverton's garden; and, after the uſual greetings, Elleſmere thus began.

ELLESMERE. Well, Miſs Lucy, and ſo you are here, too. What courage there is in the female breaſt! Did not Milverton inform you that he was going to tax our

patience largely? What is your idea now of a grave ſubject?

LUCY. One that ſhould make even Mr. Elleſmere in earneſt, as diſtinguiſhed from a dull ſubject which would only make him more fond of gibing and more provokingly ſevere.

ELLESMERE. Fair maiden, your remarks are unpleaſantly clever; and if you ſay anything more of the ſame kind this morning, I will give out that you are a wit, a ruinous character, I can tell you, to affix to a young lady in her teens.

LUCY. Pray do not, ſir; I am all ſubmiſſion for the future.

MILVERTON. I do not know, Lucy, whether my ſubject will come under your definition; however, I will not keep you any longer in ſuſpenſe,—Slavery is the ſubject.

ELLESMERE. The very one I gueſſed and had juſt whiſpered in Dunsford's ear (he had done ſo). You ſee I had given a ſhrewd look at your book-ſhelves, and watched the additions from time to time. Then the problem was, to ſee what one ſubject would fulfil the requiſite conditions, and account for a man not utterly irrational reading books of travel, geography, books about the different races of mankind, pamphlets upon ſugar, blue books on the Weſt Indies, and old Spaniſh chronicles. And by a proceſs of combination and elimination, which, if I were to work it out on paper, would occupy a notable place in the ninth edition, ninth is it

not (the rogue knew that I was only preparing a ſecond) of Dunsford's work on the ſecond part of Algebra, I found out your ſubject.

MILVERTON. Does it frighten you?

ELLESMERE. No, not a bit—a fine extent of dark ground to work our picture of life upon. Beſides, I have never read anything about it worth reading. I do not ſpeak contemptuouſly: there may be good books upon the ſubject, but I have never ſeen them. And I remember, too, having routed up the matter a good deal for the "compulſory manumiſſion" caſe. A great caſe that; nearly the greateſt I ever was in.

MILVERTON. I am very glad indeed that you take ſo kindly to the ſubject. I was afraid I ſhould have a good deal of coaxing and driving to get you over the firſt ſtart, as with a young horſe.

ELLESMERE. Conſidering what I have gone through in the way of liſtening to eſſays of yours: how attentive I have always been when you have ſat down there and told me that Virtue was a fine thing, I do not think you can fairly compare me to a young horſe, but rather to one who has carried many a dull load in a moſt good-natured, pack-horſe faſhion.

MILVERTON. Dull the load I am about to ſhare with you is not: ſad to the uttermoſt it is. I have of late been looking with ſome care into the hiſtory of Slavery, pondering over ſome of thoſe Spaniſh tomes which had not eſcaped your obſervant eye, Elleſmere; and the ſtories they tell are much darker and ſadder, I think, even

than the usual run of history. I have not been able to escape their influence, after laying them aside.

DUNSFORD. Yes; I have noticed you have not been very conversable lately.

MILVERTON. However, I had the other day a strange dream or fancy which seemed an answer to some of my troubled questionings.

ELLESMERE. I see in these wild parts of the country the love of the marvellous still abides. Come, let us hear about the dream. Like all people who have anything strange to tell, you are longing to tell it, I can see.

MILVERTON. I will then. There is a beautiful creature haunts these hills; whether to call it insect, fly, or moth, I hardly know; but it is about so long, has a slender body which two transparent blue wings arch over, like a tent, and the delicate feelers form the cordage of the tent. This creature, (I believe it to be always the same one,) comes often when I light my lamp, and suns itself in the light thrown by the lamp upon the white wall near. It never falls with a whiz into the flame, like others of its winged tribe, but contentedly reposes on its lamp-warmed spot.

ELLESMERE. This will be a night-mare story.

MILVERTON. Two or three days ago, I was much tired, and began to set about my work very listlessly, but spurring myself up to it, at last made a beginning. I was busy with an account of wars, and destructions, and massacres; and I dare say, occasionally dropped some words which showed what I was thinking of. My pa-

tient blue-coloured friend had, I remember, taken her ſtation on the wall when I firſt ſat down. I thought how we built our palaces and formed our pleaſure-gardens on the ruins of the paſt; and what part thoſe unfortunate men, or nations, might ſtill have in our gains, upon whom the advance of human ſociety ſeems to have been worked out with eſpecial ſigns of agony and terror. Pondering theſe things, I ſuppoſe I ſlept; at any rate, the tented moth ſaid ſuddenly to me with a clear criſp voice, ſounding as if the words came through the fineſt net-work. "Large, ſad-coloured creature, I "could ſpeak to you of many things not to be found "in thoſe dark characters you reſt upon."

"Beautiful daughter of a day," I anſwered, "you are "pleaſed to mock me, but ſo you ſpeak with that ſweet "voice, ſpeak on."

"Say, daughter of long ages, as well as daughter of "a day," ſhe, ruſtling, replied; "for it is not with us as "with you: at our birth the experience and the know-"ledge of our inſect parents and of their parents come "to us at once: we look back upon a web of continuous "life which your hiſtories only give you names about."

"This, then, is their 'inſtinct,'" I ſaid to myſelf, but would not ſay it to her; thinking, in the ſtrange way of reaſoning that goes on in dreams, that ſhe would not underſtand the word, "inſtinct."

She continued, "nor are we the only creatures gifted "with this life on life: your large-ſhadowed race won-"ders to ſee an animal or bird fondly attach itſelf to this

" man, not alluring it, and fly the other, offering all it
" wiſhes: but they know the lineage of thoſe who have
" loved their race: a hoſt of loving little words and
" deeds and pleaſant memories attend the offſpring of
" ſuch a race. Nay, I myſelf have ſeen what your poets
" ſcarcely dare to feign, the inferior animal ſeek injury
" to itſelf at the hands of one of you men, to ſtop his
" rapid courſe to irredeemable evil, hoping to detain him
" by pity of its own diſtreſs."

" Forgive the queſtion, lady-moth," I aſked, " but
" was the ſacrifice ſucceſsful?"

" The race," ſhe ſaid, " that walks upright and caſts
" large ſhadows is as our coarſer brethren the common
" moths, borrowing ſmall wiſdom ſave from experience,
" nor much from that.

" But liſten to me of the paſt. For thoſe dark days
" dimly pointed out before you on that page, I look
" along the line of anceſtral memories, and feel that I
" was there myſelf, not as in theſe gentle climes, ſoft-
" coloured, but duſky, and having ſomething of the
" fierceneſs of the ſun that bred me there. Faſt have
" I flown before the heated blaſt of ſome burnt Indian
" village, rolling towards the woods; ſtealthily have I
" flitted round the trembling torch borne by the falſe
" Indian maid coming to warn her Spaniſh lover that
" her people gathered even now upon their deſtroyers;
" and quietly, as at this moment, have I baſked in the
" light of the lamp where the Spaniſh captain ſat in his
" tent writing to his ſovereign to tell him how the In-

" dians would not love the Chriſtian faith—and often " ſince have I ſat by lamps making the pale ſtudent's " face look paler, and heard them murmuring ſuch " thoughts as yours."

" Gracious lady-moth of many ages," I interrupted, " tell me of theſe things—ſpeak to me more."

" I ſhowed thee," ſhe replied, " that other creatures " were bound by links thou didſt not dream of; and " ſeemeth it not to thee, there may be ſome bond of love " and knowledge throughout thy race, the race that " chooſes; ſomething that makes the preſent a brother- " hood; the future a linked hope; the paſt an endleſs " pity, poured by the whole race like balſam on the " wounds and ſorrows of thoſe who bled and ſuffered " for it moſt: and compared to which preſent human " ſympathy is but as nothing."

And as ſhe ſpoke with eagerneſs, a light quivering motion ran along her wings, as upon a tent ſtirred by the firſt breeze before ſun-riſe. I looked more earneſtly at her, and awoke. She ſeemed to me as uſual, faſtened to the wall in her quiet way. I began my work again. Many times I looked up from it, but ſhe ſat there unmoved: and before I had finiſhed, ſhe was gone.

DUNSFORD. I aſſure you, Elleſmere, our friend here is highly favoured; I have rarely ſeen this beautiful inſect which, as I dare ſay you know, is of the ſpecies—

MILVERTON. Forgive me for interrupting you, Dunſford; but pleaſe do not tell me the name. I do not

want to know it. It will be ſome harſh-ſounding ſcientific name, I dare ſay; but if I only aſſociate in thought ſuch a name with her beautiful preſence, ſhe may never baſk near me any more.

ELLESMERE. You may tell me the name, Dunsford. The inſects never talk to me.

LUCY.

"In vain, through every changeful year,
"Did Nature lead him as before;
"A primroſe by a river's brim
"A yellow primroſe was to him,
"And it was nothing more."

MILVERTON. I muſt now begin.

ELLESMERE. Yes, that formidable roll of paper warns us that we muſt not talk much before the reading, if we mean to have any diſcuſſion afterwards.

Milverton then read the following eſſay.

SLAVERY.

THERE are many modes of dividing this ſubject. Slavery might be treated hiſtorically, tracing it from the earlieſt ages through the various nations in which it has exiſted, and which it has tended to deſtroy. As the general polity of Judea was unlike that of

Greece; and that of Greece unlike that of Rome; ſo the ſtate of ſlavery was widely different in each of theſe nations. In modern times, too, ſlavery preſents various aſpects, according to the nation in which it is found. The ſlavery amongſt the Africans themſelves is not like the ſlavery amongſt civilized men. Brazilian ſlavery muſt differ in many reſpects from North American; that of the Eaſtern from that of the Weſtern world.

The beſt modes moreover of dealing with ſlavery muſt largely differ in different places: and in truth each nation where ſlavery exiſts, requires the ſubject to be treated with a view to the local and hiſtorical peculiarities of ſlavery in that nation.

Again, the ſubject might be treated as one of political economy; and doubtleſs this preſents one of its important aſpects. Or, it might be conſidered in reference to political welfare generally, and looked at mainly in its effects on national well-being.

I prefer dividing the ſubject in what may be deemed an arbitrary method, but one which might naturally be adopted in addreſſing an individual—an individual ſlave-owner for inſtance. I ſhall endeavour to ſhow that ſlavery is cruel,

needleſs, unauthorized, miſchievous to maſter as well as ſlave; that there are no races in reſpect to which the preceding propoſitions do not apply; and, finally, that ſlavery can be done away. If theſe things can be ſhown to any ſlave-owner, I think he ought to liſten, and I think he will. After all, men are ſwayed by argument: they do acknowledge the ſupreme authority of reaſon. It may be ſaid—look at the courſe of the world: where is your force of reaſon there? I anſwer, the truths of reaſon are darkened by ſophiſm, blunted by exaggeration, and when "immerſed in "matter," as they muſt be in dealing with human affairs, there is a hazineſs and many-ſidedneſs about them which render them very hard to apprehend. But bring them well out, and men muſt obey them. Self-intereſt, paſſion, pride, everything goes down ultimately before ſound reaſoning. You may deny reaſon: you may deny the Sun. You cannot, however, even when blind, eſcape the genial influence of either. Hence the firſt of all things, in a great cauſe, is to reaſon it out well. When it is ſecurely reaſoned, it is gained. There remains much to be done by the head and by the hand, with the tongue and with the pen; and there may be many

partial iſſues of ſucceſs and defeat: but ſuperior intelligences, if ſuch regard mortal affairs, would know that the work was, ſpiritually ſpeaking, done. Now I do not mean to magnify any literary attempt in this matter, much leſs my own, but ſimply to ſtate my conviction of how the work is to be done. Only by profound and earneſt inveſtigation, which will lead in writing or action to enlightened and earneſt endeavour. The unſpeakable miſery which has been cauſed by partial and purblind efforts in the cauſe of ſlavery, makes one approach this ſubject with a feeling of awe, leſt one ſhould be adding any more crude ideas, to be worked out in practical ſuffering upon other people.

Philanthropy, often as blind as allegorical Juſtice, can ſeldom make a ſingle right ſtep without the guidance of wide-ſeeing thoughtfulneſs. It may hereafter be proved that England has occaſionally committed great errors of judgment in her endeavours to put down ſlavery and the ſlave trade. Yet, even if it ſhould be ſo, we muſt not forget that the concern felt among the Britiſh people for the queſtion of ſlavery, has doubtleſs been one of the main ſupports to all philanthropic endeavour in the matter. This

concern may often have been wrong directed for a time; but, without it, all intereſt in the ſubject might have died away. Wiſhing that, throughout Chriſtendom, this intereſt may approach in enlightenment, what it already is in ſincerity and fervour, I will now begin the more formal diſcuſſion of the ſubject.

I. THAT SLAVERY IS CRUEL.

Some may think this too obvious to need proof. But the danger is, that men's attention may have been dulled by many ſtatements tending one way, which have not however been brought to converge to any concluſion in their minds. Beſides, after hearing much reſpecting any great evil, the world begins to think that it has heard chiefly the ſalient points on one ſide, and that there may be another view of the matter, which has not been brought forward, or which has not had its due weight. Then, again, if the ſubject be one of immenſe magnitude, like the preſent, the largeneſs of the evil oppreſſes men's minds, and makes them anxious, in ſelf-defence, to get quit of the ſubject, or to be content with very vague impreſſions about it. It is neceſſary, there-

fore, in any connected eſſay on ſlavery, to recur to the evidence of its cruelty, to endeavour to arrange the evidence of this cruelty in ſome order, and to eſtimate fairly its extent.

But firſt we may aſk what ſhould we predicate of ſlavery, if we knew nothing minutely about it? Should we not ſay, that when once man was ſubject to man, as an animal is ſubject, he would ſhrink away into mere animal nature? Should we not expect to hear of chains and ſtripes, of phyſical brutality of all kinds? Without any hiſtory of ſlavery, ſhould we not divine, from the conduct of free men to each other, that no man was fitted for abſolute power? And, if we turned from political to domeſtic life, ſhould we not ſay, that, the ſmaller the ſphere in which abſolute power prevailed, the greater would be the danger of its being abuſed. If we then conſidered that in a ſyſtem of ſlavery, abſolute power would be delegated not only to men, but to women and children, ſhould we think it leſs of an evil on that account? Again, if we heard that in this imaginary ſtate, the ſlaves outnumbered the freemen, could we doubt that cruel precautions would often be taken to avert the dangers of inſurrection? And, in fine, if we were told that the

ſlaves differed in race and colour from their owners, ſhould we not conjecture that this circumſtance would add diſguſt to cruelty, and darken injuſtice with loathing.

Now let us ſee what has happened.

For the preſent, I omit ſaying anything about the treatment of ſlaves amongſt the Jews. That treatment is often adduced to juſtify the modern treatment. It is not for its ſuppoſed mildneſs that it is adduced.

The Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, are conſidered to have treated their ſlaves mildly. We find, however, that two of the worſt things which are ever connected with ſlavery prevailed in Greece. Theſe are the inequality of the numbers of male and female ſlaves, an inequality maintained for the ſame reaſon as in ſome modern nations, that it was cheaper to buy than to rear ſlaves: and the evidence of ſlaves being always taken with torture. The ſlaves in the mines worked in chains, and died in great numbers.

With reſpect to the treatment of ſlaves under the Romans, I cite the following paſſage from an elaborate work on the ſubject:*

* An inquiry into the ſtate of ſlavery amongſt the Romans, by *William Blair*, 1833, p. 106-113.

The law allowed vaſt latitude to maſters; and they availed themſelves of it to the utmoſt. A blow with the hand was the readieſt mode of expreſſing diſpleaſure; but the laſh and the rod were moſt frequently employed for domeſtic correction, and as *ſtimuli* to activity. If a ſlave ſpoke, coughed, or ſneezed, at forbidden times, he was flogged by a very ſevere maſter. The toilet of a lady of faſhion was a terrific ordeal for her tirewomen, who ſuffered for each curl unbecomingly arranged, and were puniſhed for the faults of the mirror. Whips and thongs of hide or leather, were kept hanging up, as a terror to offenders, and a ready means of vengeance; but were not the only or leaſt dreadful inſtruments of flagellation. We are not informed what number of blows or laſhes, was uſually inflicted for particular miſdeeds. Petronius preſents a maſter, threatening with one hundred laſhes, any ſlave who ſhould be guilty of leaving the houſe during an entertainment. This was, no doubt, meant to appear an exceſſive chaſtiſement for the offence; yet, in a ſubſequent age, three hundred laſhes was, often, the amount of puniſhment awarded, for very trifling faults, which, more generally, drew down a ſentence of between thirty and fifty ſtripes. Fetters and chains were much uſed, for puniſhment or reſtraint, and were, in ſome inſtances, worn by ſlaves during life, through the ſole authority of their maſters. Porters at the gates of the rich, were generally chained. We can ſcarcely ſuppoſe, that this uſage obtained, from a wiſh to make a needleſs diſplay of power: it may have been adopted, as a mode of

puniſhment, or to inſure the conſtant preſence of the ſlave at his poſt. Field labourers worked for the moſt part, in irons, poſterior to the firſt ages of the Republic.

A larger view of the ſubject may be obtained by conſidering the laws paſſed by ſucceſſive emperors to improve the condition of ſlaves.

The maſter's power of life and death over his ſlaves, was firſt ſought to be legally aboliſhed, by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Before the exiſtence of laws ſufficient to repreſs the exceſſive tyranny of ſlave-owners, extraordinary ſteps were taken by Auguſtus, and by Hadrian, to mark their reprobation of the odious barbarity with which ſlaves were, in ſome inſtances, treated. The reproof given, by the former of thoſe Princes, to Vedius Pollio, for condemning a ſlave to a horrid death, on account of accidental miſchief, is well known; and the latter emperor baniſhed a lady of rank, becauſe ſhe was notoriouſly cruel to her ſlaves. Conſtantine placed the wilful murder of a ſlave, with that of a freeman, and expreſsly included the caſe of a ſlave who died under puniſhment, unleſs that was inflicted with the uſual inſtruments of correction. But the effect of this humane rule, was done away by an after enactment of Conſtantine himſelf, and the more unfavourable law was retained in the Theodoſian code. And in the fifth century, Salvianus aſſures us, that, in the Gallic provinces at leaſt, men ſtill fancied, they had a right to put their

ſlaves to death. Several councils of the church endeavoured to repreſs ſlave murders, by threatening the perpetrators with temporary excommunication; at leaſt, Juſtinian rejected from his code the leſs humane, and preſerved the other of Conſtantine's two decrees, which we have noticed. By a law of Claudius, a maſter who expoſed his ſick or infirm ſlaves, forfeited all rights over them, in the event of their recovery; and the ſame conſequences followed the expoſure of infant ſlaves. The Petronian law (paſſed A. U. C. 813,) prohibited maſters from compelling their ſlaves to fight with wild beaſts. Hadrian reſtrained a proprietor from ſelling his ſlave to a keeper of gladiators, (*laniſta*) or to a pander, (*leno*) except as a puniſhment; and then, only with the ſanction of the judge. Till a late era, the ties of affection and of blood, among ſlaves, were not ſaved from arbitrary diſregard, by any law introduced for the good of the ſervile claſſes. We meet, indeed, with ſome traces of a feeling againſt the ſeparation of the members of ſervile families, at an earlier date, but no poſitive legiſlative enactments on the ſubject, were iſſued, prior to ſeveral humane rules eſtabliſhed by Conſtantine. *

Paſſing from theſe ancient times, when men's hearts were hardened by paganiſm, we have to ſee whether a religion of acknowledged love and

* *Blair's* Inquiry, p. 85.

mercy has eradicated the cruelty of maſters to ſlaves. Doubtleſs it has mitigated it: and even amongſt the Romans, we may note the power of the church coming in to aid the ſlave, and may fairly expect that her influence will always tend that way. Still though it has met, it has by no means maſtered, the cruelty which, except in rare inſtances, is ſo apt to grow up, wherever man poſſeſſes an abſolute property in his fellows. I ſhall not attempt to trace the cruelties attendant upon ſlavery in the middle ages. Suffice it to ſay, that ſlavery gradually tapered down to ſerfdom, and then by degrees expanded into freedom. At this period, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, there was a lull. Then, as occaſionally in modern times, the complacent hiſtorian might think of ſitting down and writing the decline and fall of ſlavery; but all the while the evil had been but ſweeping and garniſhing its houſe, and was to return with ſevenfold vehemence to take up its abode again with men.

A new career for ſlavery was ſuddenly opened by the diſcovery of America. It would not be behindhand with the other continents in its experience of human ſuffering: nor the peſtilence of

ſlavery, unlike its brethren, be leaſt fatal in the weſt. Las Caſas and Vieyra might be quoted to ſhow the cruelties which ſtimulated them in their unwearied efforts to ſave the original inhabitants from ſervitude. The Indians vaniſhed from the ſcene, giving way to a more enduring race, who were thenceforward fated to monopolize the miſeries of ſlavery. The evidence on which the Britiſh people aboliſhed ſlavery, and other nations the ſlave-trade, might now be adduced. But as it muſt have been of the ſame character as that of quite recent times, we need not enter upon it.

To come then at once to modern times. And here, whether we take the laws, the general ſtatiſtics, or the individual facts related by travellers, the concluſion, we muſt arrive at, is the ſame. The ſame, too, as regards all countries where ſlavery exiſts, though of courſe there are many modifications. The ſlaves are uneducated, here from policy, there from neglect: and ſocial relations are everywhere ruthleſsly fundered.

A poor free man of colour with a ſlave wife and four children ſays, pointing to the only white paſſenger in company with the traveller from whom I quote.

If my boys were like that lad, I ſhould be as happy

as a king. Is not your wife free then? I aſked. No, was his reply. I wiſh ſhe were. We live together at preſent, and our children with us—All but one, whom her maſter has taken away. The fact was, the owner of this poor creature had had the meanneſs to ſaddle her huſband with the coſt of maintaining the children, and even allowed him to pay the poll-tax upon them—amounting to about a dollar and half a year each, including the ſtate and the town tax. As the children become valuable for work or ſale, he will claim them; and the father may look in vain for compenſation.*

The planters themſelves muſt perceive this evil:

He (a planter) replied, that he himſelf was a lawyer by profeſſion, and that no legal validity ever had been, or ought to be given, to the marriage tie, ſo long as the right of ſale could ſeparate parent and child, huſband and wife. Such ſeparations, he ſaid, could not always be prevented, when ſlaves multiplied faſt, though they were avoided by the maſters as far as poſſible. He defended the cuſtom of bringing up the children of the ſame eſtate in common, as it was far more humane not to cheriſh domeſtic ties among ſlaves.†

Another traveller in the United States, whoſe

* *Abdy's* Journal, 1833-4, vol. ii. p. 353.
† *Lyell's* Travels in North America, vol. i. p. 184.

name is well known wherever the Engliſh language is, ſays:

In the negro car belonging to the train in which we made this journey, were a mother and her children who had juſt been purchaſed; the huſband and father being left behind with their old owner. The children cried the whole way, and the mother was miſery's picture. The perſon who had bought them, rode in the ſame train; and every time we ſtopped, got down to ſee that they were ſafe.*

That ſocial relations are ſundered, is too well known to require proof from the above extracts, but individual inſtances repreſent to our minds the force of general facts.

The perſonal treatment of ſlaves is almoſt everywhere too rigorous. It is ſaid, and juſtly, that in eſtimating this matter, we muſt take into account the puniſhments inflicted on criminals in free ſtates.† The nature, however, of the diſcipline in the two caſes is ſo different,

* *Dickens's* American Notes, vol. ii. p. 17.

† If we could fairly eſtimate the miſery of all offenders in the priſons, penitentiaries, and penal ſettlements of ſome large European province, and then deduct the ſame from the ſufferings of the ſlaves in a large Southern State of the union, the excels alone ought, in fairneſs, to be laid to the charge of the ſlave-owners. *Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. i. p. 190.

that any comparison of quantity must fail to represent the truth. It was justly complained of in the Roman times, that slaves were fiercely punished for small offences; but for great ones, for which they might have forfeited their lives (those lives being so much money to their owners) they went scot-free. So that even if the amount of physical suffering were the same in the punishment of criminals in free states and the discipline of slaves in slave states, the amount of good result in the case of the slaves, might be much less; of bad result, much greater. But this is not the gist of the case. Draconian laws are bad: but they are laws, and not individual caprice. Moreover, in European life, punishment is the exception; it is not connected with a man's daily work, except amongst convicted criminals. But from the nature of slavery, productiveness being the merit of a slave, his most frequent punishment will be connected with his daily work. His fear will therefore be continuous. And it is the fear of punishment which in his case will be the greatest injury—a continuous fear of punishment depending upon individual will. What is there in the punishment of free criminals which can be compared to that? This fear, too, comes upon the

whole race, good and bad. Again, where domeſtic ſervice is the portion of a ſlave, it is ſtill more hopeleſs for him by any conduct, however watchful, to eſcape puniſhment. For the duties of domeſtic ſervice, being of a mixed and uncertain character, will often be ſaid to be performed well or ill, according to the preſent good or bad temper of thoſe in domeſtic authority. And fearful will be the evil when ſuch authorities have an exceſſive and immediate power of puniſhment. Therefore, even if it could be proved, that the amount of phyſical ſuffering, endured by the criminals of ſome European ſtate, were greater than that endured by the ſlaves in a ſlave ſtate, it would be but a moſt fallacious teſt in favour of ſlavery. The freeman comes under the whip; the ſlave has it always hanging over him. The honeſt man in this or in any other free country does not think about puniſhments; no laſh is reſounding in his ears. Perſonal fears are not the wages that make him work. You hear ſome men ſay, in haſty argumentation, that the poor man in a highly populated country, who is dependent for his daily ſubſiſtence upon work being given to him by ſome ſuperior, is almoſt a ſlave. But between that "almoſt" and the reality lie the

poſſible extremes of civilization and barbariſm. And the difference both in the grounds and in the mode of their reſpective puniſhments is one of the items of difference between the freeman and the ſlave, large enough in itſelf to make ſuch a contraſt in character betwen them, that let them be deſcended from the ſame ſtock, in a generation or two the family reſemblance would, I believe, be loſt from this one circumſtance alone.

But to proceed with details, one who ſays that he was an eye-witneſs of what he relates, ſtates that he had ſeen a black man receive, at the "whipping-poſt no leſs than one hundred laſhes "from the cow-hide, for ſtriking a white man who "had treated him moſt barbarouſly. He had "ſtruck the latter with his open hand. For this "crime his back was cut nearly to the bone, from "the nape of the neck to the loins, and preſented "one continuous maſs of gore." *

The author of the Journal before quoted from calls at the houſes of ſome free blacks, and finds in one of them a negro ſaid to be 114 years old.

He had retained his faculties, and was ſtrong enough

* See *Abdy*, vol ii. p. 242.

to walk without aſſiſtance; though his feet were much crippled by the ſufferings he had undergone: having been compelled, for ſix years, to drag a weight of fifty-ſix pounds, attached by a chain to his legs, while at work. In addition to this inſtrument of wearíſome annoyance, he had worn an iron collar round his neck, faſtened to his waiſt, and projecting over his head, with a bell ſuſpended from the upper part. He was a very religious man; and it was for preaching to his fellow-ſlaves, that theſe excruciating tortures were inflicted upon him. When we aſked him if he had ever been flogged, he threw his arms up wildly, and ſeemed to labour under an oppreſſive load of recollections. This was invariably his cuſtom, when the ſubject was recalled to his mind. Yes! he exclaimed, the cow-hide was my breakfaſt, and dinner, and ſupper.

My object in quoting the two laſt extracts is not ſo much for the ſake of the cruelty exhibited, as to indicate the diſproportion between the crime and the puniſhment which will be likely to exiſt where ſlavery prevails. In ſuch an abnormal ſtate, things in themſelves harmleſs, indifferent, praiſeworthy, or ſlightly wrong, will be conſidered by the ruling powers, and almoſt unavoidably ſo, as crimes of magnitude and full of danger.

From the accounts of the numerous travellers

who have viſited the United States within the laſt few years, it would not be difficult to ſelect inſtances of various kinds of cruelty which is the reſult of ſlavery. Amongſt ſuch inſtances, thoſe would be juſtly conſpicuous which illuſtrated the feeling of caſte, that feeling which, as Coleridge has pointed out, is the origin of the word unkindneſs; and which adds the difficulty of overcoming diſguſt to the difficulties already ſufficient in the exerciſe of charity to thoſe dependent upon us. It might alſo be ſhown how ſoon thoſe perſons who have no rights by law come to be conſidered and treated as animals, or things. But it is a moſt ungracious taſk to dwell upon inſtances of cruelty, and I am anxious not to do ſo the leaſt more than is needful; it often appears a magnifying of individual inſtances; it can not be ſo needful in a country where the queſtion of ſlavery is already much agitated and where the preſs is free; and, moreover, I have a feeling that thoſe black and white races will yet live amicably and wiſely together; and that it will be a great pity to place upon record more than is neceſſary of circumſtances which might hereafter aggravate the feelings of either.

Before quitting this part of the ſubject as

regards America, I may remark that there is evidence to ſhow, what may already have occurred to the minds of my readers, that kind treatment from his maſter muſt often fill the ſlave, if he has any thoughtfulneſs, with great concern about the future. Surely, no change that occurs in the viciſſitudes of civilized life can equal the miſery of going from a humane maſter to a cruel one; and few anticipations can be more unwelcome.

We have not much evidence about the Portugueſe colonies in Africa, but what we have is ſufficient to ſhow that the treatment of ſlaves is much the ſame there as elſewhere.

Here (Novo Redondo) they often ſend a ſlave into the interior for many weeks, to purchaſe ivory and ſlaves. I happened to be in the houſe of an Italian, when one of theſe traders returned, after an abſence of three weeks, and gave an account of the buſineſs which he had tranſacted; the reckoning was made out with the aid of ſmall beans, but the accounts did not exactly tally, and the poor ſlave was dragged into the court-yard, where he was whipped, and then faſtened by a chain on his arm to the wall, where he remained without ſhelter, till he could be ſent by the firſt opportunity acroſs the ſea. Deeply did I

regret, that it was not in my power to place the inhuman judge in the ſituation of his unfortunate ſlave.*

Again the ſame traveller tells us†

I had ſcarcely been in poſſeſſion of my new lodgings for an hour, and was occupied in arranging my effects, when my attention was ſuddenly attracted by the ſound of ſtripes, repeated at regular intervals. I ſoon perceived that ſome perſon was undergoing corporal chaſtiſement in the court-yard, and at once haſtened to the lady of the houſe; I found her ſitting as uſual at the open window, enjoying the cool ſea-breeze and the fine proſpect of the harbour, while a young negreſs was buſily engaged in needle-work at her ſide. To my anxious inquiry, reſpecting the loud beating which ſtill continued, ſhe replied ſmiling, that one of her needle women was receiving by her orders, ſix dozen palmetadas (blows in the palm of the hand) becauſe her ſtitches were badly made. My indignation and diſguſt being excited in the higheſt degree, Donna Catarina was induced to ſend the other girl to the court-yard, with orders that the puniſhment ſhould be diſcontinued.

In the ſame houſe

---

* See *Tams's* Portugueſe poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa, vol. i. p. 201.

† Ibid. p. 252.

To the very laſt moment, three or four of the youngeſt ſlaves ſat on the ground in the adjoining apartment, waiting in caſe they ſhould be ſummoned, and ever on the watch, to pick up anything that might fall upon the floor. If the unhappy little things, from four to eight years of age, were unable to reſiſt the influence of ſleep, the application of the uſual remedy was not delayed for a moment, and the laſt ſound which was daily heard in that houſe, was the wail of theſe poor young children.

The ſtate of the ſlaves in Cuba forms no exception to the general rule.

The miſtreſs of many a great family in the Havanna will not ſcruple to tell you that ſuch is the proneneſs of her people to vice and idleneſs, ſhe finds it neceſſary to ſend one or more of them once a month to the whipping poſt, not ſo much on account of any poſitive delinquency, as becauſe without theſe periodical advertiſements the whole family would become unmanageable, and the maſter and miſtreſs would loſe their authority.*

The proportion of males to females is, we are told, nearly three to one. But that is not all.

It is notorious that there are individual eſtates in iſlands with 600 or 700 negroes upon them, from which the

* See Travels in the Weſt, Cuba; with notices of Porto Rico; and the ſlave trade, by *David Turnbull*, 1840, p. 54.

ſofter ſex is entirely excluded. In this reſpect I am bound to ſay that the Creole proprietors evince much more regard for the laws of humanity than the emigrant planters from Spain and the United States.

The ſame traveller then ſpeaks of an eſtate where the owner, an American, "has congregated "no leſs than 700 male negroes, to the excluſion "of a ſingle female, locking up the men, during "the ſhort period allowed for needful reſt, in a "building called a barracoon, which is in fact, to "all intents and purpoſes, a priſon."*

The loſs of life amongſt the negroes in Cuba, amounts, on eſtates where ſugar is grown, "to "the appalling proportion of ten per cent. per "annum, or cent. per cent. per decade, thus in-"ferring the neceſſity of a total renewal of the "numbers by importation in the courſe of the "ten years."†

This loſs will not be wondered at, when we find that in the crop ſeaſon "only four hours, or "at moſt four hours and a half out of the twenty "four were allowed for ſleep."‡

* Ibid. p. 146. † Ibid. p. 150. ‡ Ibid. p. 286.

As regards education, we have the authority of a Cuban prieſt for ſaying that

A field negro was never in church in the whole courſe of his life, except at the time of his baptiſm. If the Ingenio or the Cafetal happened to be cloſe to a town, a few favoured individuals might be allowed to go there when the crop ſeaſon was over, but never by any chance, or under any circumſtances, during the buſy period of the year.*

It would not be difficult, I am ſure, to find many inſtances of humane maſters in all the countries we have been referring to; but I have ſcarcely found anything which would ſupport the idea that ſlaves, as a claſs, are kindly treated except, perhaps, an inſtance like the following which occurs in Africa itſelf.

Mahriam, the ſlave-girl, who ſat with the reſt, was not neglected, for a larger portion came to her ſhare than to any of the others. Slaves generally are conſidered by their owners in the light of near relations, or rather, perhaps, as foſter-children. When their conduct is ſo very bad as to alienate the affection of their indulgent maſters, they are not unfrequently diſmiſſed.†

---

* Ibid. p. 285.

† Johnſton's travels in ſouthern Abyſſinia, vol. ii. p. 176.

Even here, however, we ſee what is likely to happen from the fatal temptation of ſlave-trading, for the ſame traveller who gives the above account, adds:

> Latterly, however, a greater relaxation in the principles of the chriſtians at Shoa, as in other portions of Abyſſinia, has led to a puniſhment for refractory ſlaves, by ſelling them to their Mahomedan neighbours, who ſoon forward them to the coaſt. Canon-law prohibits this cuſtom of ſelling ſlaves altogether, but a ſyſtem of ſmuggling in this unhappy commodity is extenſively carried on, by the very prieſts of the religion itſelf, who are continually bringing ſlave children to Aliu Amba from Gurague, and other chriſtian ſtates to the ſouth of Shoa.

We have now gone over ſome of the principal points connected with the treatment of ſlaves. It is true that they have not the care for their means of livelihood which belongs to neceſſitous free men. The domeſtic animals enjoy a ſimilar abſence of care. But in all other reſpects obviouſly, and as much perhaps, in this freedom from care if we did but ſee the full effect of it, I think we can have but little heſitation in pronouncing that ſlavery is cruel. In ſaying this, we need come to no uncharitable concluſion reſpecting

ſlave-owners, or aſſume for a moment that they are, originally, more hard-hearted than other men. But the truth is, none of us are fitted to own ſlaves—much leſs are people who are brought up from childhood as maſters in a ſlave houſehold.

To many of thoſe living in the midſt of any ſyſtem, however bad, much that is ſaid of it by ſtrangers muſt ſeem a great coil about nothing. We can hardly fancy that what we have been long accuſtomed to can be otherwiſe than abſolutely right. Then, too, although thoſe who look at a mode of life from without, may ſee wiſely into it, being able to compare it with other things, yet, on the other hand, they naturally fall into ſome errors in detail which could not be made by thoſe who are engaged in that way of living. The traveller makes juſt and far-ſeeing remarks, perhaps, on the political poſition, geographical relations, manners or general aſpect of ſome town; but the inhabitants of the place moſtly find ſomething to laugh at in his deſcription of details. They know every ſtreet, and make no minor miſtakes. And then, again, if they can find no flaw which renders the obſerver of their ways an inſufficient obſerver in their eyes, there are other things which may make them pay too little heed to his remarks. It

is hard to profit by the wiſdom which is unpalatable to us and which comes to us in a matter that we are ſo verſed in that we do not ſee it. Here then we muſt hope moſt from men of genius and imagination which take a man, as it were, out of himſelf. We think much of foreſeeing people; but there is no foreſight without inſight, and it may be an eaſier thing to judge wiſely of the future than to look clearly into the preſent and the near. The man who bred up in the midſt of ſlavery ſees all the miſchief of it could do the moſt againſt it. And let us hope that many ſuch men will be found to enlighten and purify the public opinion around them. If not, there is no aſſurance againſt the cruelties we have been deſcribing hardening more and more into a ſyſtem. People began the ſlave-trade upon the theory of its being "a commerce for the ranſom of ſlaves, "or for the making converts to Chriſtianity." We now find that a ſlave is openly called a "bulto de effectos,"* or bale of goods, and has

* The Captain ſaid, in anſwer to the obſervations and accuſations that were made againſt him, "that there were about 100 "bales embarked at your port infected with the putrid fever, and "that all the precautions that we could uſe on board did not ſuf-"fice to ſtop the mortality; ſo that we may ſay only half have

come to be conſidered rather as a thing than a perſon in all ſlave-owning parts.

But whether thoſe in the midſt of ſlavery perceive the evils or not, it is impoſſible for any unprejudiced perſon to be dead to the magnitude of thoſe evils. And the cruelty of it is moſt likely in the firſt inſtance to awaken attention. War is a horrible thing. We read a ſurgeon's deſcription of a battle-field, or trace the famines, peſtilences, and deſolation that attend on armies, and can then form ſome notion of what war is. But there is no denying that good may come from it. Civilization has been extended by it. Even thoſe apparently prepoſterous Cruſades introduced the barbaric Northerns to the arts and ſciences of Southern and Eaſtern climes. Races have been improved by conqueſt—both the conquerors and the conquered. Valour has been cultivated—is it nothing that we owe to Chivalry? Then too for what noble cauſes men have bled—with what complete abnegation of ſelf. I admit to the full meaſure the evil of war: but it is not all loſs.

" been ſaved of the number that ought to have been yielded by " the abundant and well aſſorted barter put on board, calculated " to produce more than 400 bultos."—*Turnbull's Travels in the Weſt, Cuba*, &c. p. 423.

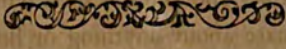
So, again, of religious perſecution. This is a hideous thing to look at, and, when we conſider the extent of it, ſtupendous. Waldenſes, Albigenſes, Lollards, Wickliffites, Huſſites, Proteſtants, Catholics, Huguenots, Jeſuits, Janſeniſts,—how redolent of wars and maſſacres, of burnings, impriſonments and tortures is each name. I ſuppoſe there is no conceivable view of the ſacrament which has not been burnt into men at ſome time or other. But martyrdom is a great thing. There is ſomething gained for humanity by it—ſomething done. "The blood of martyrs is the ſeed "of the Church." And, what I venture to think of more importance than the eſtabliſhment of any earthly church, the blood of martyrs has been the ſeed of freedom of opinion.

We have ſeen that there is a bright ſide to two of the worſt things the ſky looks down upon—again already realiſed. But what can we ſay for ſlavery and the ſlave-trade? What good can be ſaid to have come out of them? What they may bring out is hid in the inſcrutable ways of God, and one is loath to believe that all this miſery goes for nothing. But at preſent what have we? Sugar—for incalculable cruelty, for evils, which even in this world one ſees no end to, danger of

ſtates, degradation of humanity—for all theſe things more rice, cotton and ſugar. That is chiefly what we get.

Think, on the other hand, how important is any evil that affects the beginnings of nations. If poiſon poured in at the ſource of a river, inſtead of being diluted, diffuſed itſelf, without diminiſhing in ſtrength, throughout each drop till it tainted the whole current from ſource to fall, that would be ſomething like the miſchief of inſerting any moral taint into a young ſtate. Conſider what a ſmall thing Negro ſlavery was at its outſet—an evil the extent of which was utterly unobſerved by thoſe who at firſt had moſt to do with it. The great diſcoverer of Negro-land, Prince Henry of Portugal, thought he was fulfilling a moſt pious purpoſe in his diſcoveries and captures. Ferdinand of Spain allowed the firſt negroes to go to America, probably without a conception of the conſequences. And it may be doubted whether Charles the Fifth, when in his retreat at the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, meditated much upon his Indian legiſlation. Deeply penitent, we are told, for many errors he had committed in the way of non-perſecution, he probably thought little of his permiſſion for the import of

Negroes to his new-found ſtates, or of the cauſes which led to that import being needed. Yet the Inquiſition itſelf was to dwindle down into harmleſſneſs, Spain to ſink into comparative inſignificance, all his European policy to count for little: while this new growth of ſlavery was to be the ſcourge of nations, and the enduring perplexity of the wiſeſt men.



DUNSFORD. Strike out that word, "enduring," Milverton; endure it cannot, endure it ſhall not.

ELLESMERE. Well done, my dear Dunsford! I have ſeen for ſome time that you have been at boiling point, quite ready to go out in a boat by yourſelf and attack a ſlaver (ſome one did the other day); or to ſet up an academy for Negro boys in a ſlave ſtate, perhaps the more dangerous thing of the two.

MILVERTON. Have I dwelt too long upon the cruelty?

ELLESMERE. For me you have. But then I was brought up amongſt the defenders of ſlavery; and the facts which uſed to come out in a quiet way, quite convinced me of the oppoſite to what my friends uſed to argue fiercely for. And their arguments did ſomething in the ſame way too.

MILVERTON. I know the impatience of modern readers, but I cannot proceed in a ſubject of this magnitude without a large ſtratum of facts.

ELLESMERE. People can uſe in this chapter what ſome man has called the firſt privilege of Engliſhmen—that of ſkipping. By the way, imagine a nation condemned to read books through!

DUNSFORD. Pray do not cut out any of the facts in this chapter. The length of it will not frighten away anybody who is worth convincing. If people do not care enough about a ſubject to linger upon the details of it, their aid will be ignorant and their ſympathy ſhallow. When we do care about anything or body, we do not know what it is to be tired with details about them.

ELLESMERE. Well, well, keep it all, if you like. I really believe I am not a fair judge: the thing is ſelf-evident to me. But I muſt ſay in general I like facts; and ſeldom think we can have too many of them. But do not let us ſay any more at preſent about this part of the ſubject. I have a ſort of ſickneſs at heart after hearing ſo many horrors, though I am not as ſoft as Dunſford.

MILVERTON. I am in hopes that the locomotion of the preſent day will have ſome great effect upon the ſlavery queſtion. Many more things are carried over land and water by thoſe puffing ſteam engines, than are entered in the way-bill or the purſer's book.

ELLESMERE. Yes, travelling is a grand thing. I don't mean your ſtatiſtical, political, benevolent or ſcientific

travelling, though that is often very ſerviceable. But I am thinking of travelling for one's ſelf. Horace may ſay what he likes about care laying hold of the tow-rope of a ſteamer, or ſitting behind the horſeman like his maſter's coat ſtrapped round a groom; but a judicious traveller cuts the tow-rope or undoes the buckle, and care is obliged to drop off behind.

DUNSFORD. Very Horatian theſe ſimiles!

ELLESMERE. Then the coming back is ſuch a delight. After a man has been beyond the Alps ſome time, there is abſolutely a halo in his mind round the idea of pariſh buſineſs at home. But then he muſt have contrived to keep tolerably clear of letters.

MILVERTON. Yes, I have often thought I could make the fortune of a ſmall German principality, by perſuading the prince to forbid any Engliſh poſt coming in or going out. Then ſet up ſome mineral waters and a town with a queer name: it would be inſtantly overpowered with the beſt claſs of Engliſh viſitors. Miniſters of ſtate would be ſure to have frequent attacks of a peculiar diſorder which nothing but the waters of this place could cure. You ſee, the beauty of the ſcheme would be, that there would be a complete excuſe for not writing, as well as an impoſſibility of receiving letters.

ELLESMERE. Very good, certainly: but don't you think the wiſh to write letters would come directly letter-writing was forbidden.

MILVERTON. No; letter-writing is one of the few things you may ſafely forbid.

ELLESMERE. But what excuſe ſhould the prince have?

MILVERTON. Oh, Engliſh intrigue. Don't you know the general theory abroad of our deep-laid ſchemes? To be ſure there are about ten or twelve Engliſhmen (I ſhould rather ſay ten) who care about foreign politics. But this droll theory of the foreigner is quite enough baſis for my ſcheme.

ELLESMERE. Special meſſengers! a "hurried Hudſon"—how can you meet that?

MILVERTON. Ah, there is no ſuch thing as perfection. But this principality would be the beſt thing that civilization could offer. Of courſe a man cannot be ſecure without making a Robinſon Cruſoe of himſelf.

ELLESMERE. There would be this good too. A man, ſeeing how well the world gets on without him, may juſt bethink himſelf whether he could not get on without the world. He may reflect that as it is not at all a ſlave to him, he need not be quite a ſlave to it. Of courſe all ſeparation from the world tells this; but the more complete tells it the louder.

MILVERTON. There is another great merit of travelling: it does not enable men to impoſe upon the world. A travelled aſs is never for a moment miſtaken for a ſenſible man; a ſtupid pedant ſometimes is.

ELLESMERE. Yes; for we think we can thoroughly judge about what anybody can tell us of foreign travel, but the man who is ſkilled in Greek Iambics has got into a region where—I, for one, do not mean to follow him, and am ready at all hazards to pronounce him a

ſenſible man rather than do ſo. Of courſe no knowledge gives ſenſe or converſibility in any high ſignification of the words. Neither travelled lore nor Greek, nor even knowledge of life, if brought out upon us inopportunely, delights us.

MILVERTON. More than that,—the knowledge which is moſt delightful to others, is not that which a man takes out of his mind, as he would money out of his pocket (both having the impreſs of another head) but what he gives you ſtamped with his own nature—his own knowledge.

DUNSFORD. Not acquiſition, but accretion.

ELLESMERE. Yet it will not do to put down knowledge too much, though obtained without originality, or clumſily made uſe of. Now I have no doubt that a fooliſh man does become decidedly a more converſable being by travel.

DUNSFORD. Yes, we have more topics in common with him, and he can enlighten us upon minute points. But we are thinking of ſomething higher than this, when we talk of knowledge being made delightful to others.

MILVERTON. There is a very humble kind of travelling which juſt ſuits me—going ſhort diſtances and ſtopping at obſcure country inns. Strange places they are: with odd rooms which the builder ſeems to have built by bits—now finiſhing one ſide and then conſidering what he ſhould do next, and being a good deal guided by the humour he was in. Then the pictures—ſuch as are to be ſeen nowhere elſe—actors and actreſſes whom we

recollect our fathers raving about, but whose memory lives only at country inns now. Then a stray statesman who was a considerable man, supposed to be often walking up back stairs, in George the Third's time, but he also is now glorious only in the parlour of some inn. Beauties too, "prints from Sir Joshua," the "honour-"able Mrs. —." The blank might be filled up now for aught that we should be the wiser.

ELLESMERE. Yes—Inns are the intermediate stage between notoriety and utter oblivion. The busy world has its new pets, but the old inn cannot afford to part with its old ones.

MILVERTON. Then the landlord and landlady, and the whole establishment indeed, except the two post horses who are fat, have seen better days. With what an air the host brings in the first dish—not unlikely to be the last also—to show you that he knows how things are done, and can do them himself.

ELLESMERE. Then the books!

MILVERTON. Yes, a thumbed volume of some defunct critical journal which was the hope and terror of authors who wrote in wigs, or the Rambler, or the narrative of the landing of the French in Ireland, or some book that you would find nowhere else. The last time I was at a country inn, *the* book was a biography of prize-fighters. Sad chronicles they were, told with much earnestness; how Jim This was stout-hearted and skilful too, but thought he could do more than he could; and Tom That could have done anything but that he was too fond of

ſomething elſe; and Sam The Other, who could beat all the world, had ſomebody at home whom he was more afraid of than all the world. It was very like reading of great conquerors and mighty kings, only that the names were ſhorter.

ELLESMERE. Let us have our next meeting at an inn.

MILVERTON. With all my heart.

DUNSFORD. Suppoſe we drive to ——— and ſtop at the firſt inn we come to.

ELLESMERE. Agreed. But now to return to the ſubject of the Eſſay. After all, Milverton, do you ſee ſo much to object to in being a ſlave? In freedom there is certainly room to daſh yourſelf againſt things, but it is ſmall comfort to a man to think that he has made a great part of his own miſery himſelf.

MILVERTON. Yet that muſt be the beſt education for another world in which there is ſome freedom for good and evil. If you begin diſcuſſing the matter with reference to happineſs alone, you may as well take in the animal creation, and contend that they are better off than men. Suffering of all kinds is not without its inſtruction: but ſurely that ſuffering is moſt inſtructive, which a man has had ſomething to do with in making for himſelf. Perhaps the worſt ſtate for man might be defined to be, not that which has moſt ſuffering, but that which has moſt ſuffering with the leaſt inſtruction and diſcipline growing out of it.

DUNSFORD. I think you are anſwered, Elleſmere.

ELLESMERE. I wonder what a man would make of all his experience, if he could have it again for this world.

MILVERTON. M—— and I were ſaying the other day what a good work of fiction it would be of the St. Leon ſchool, to make a man live over again, having an indiſtinct recollection of his former life, enough to give a warning ſometimes.

ELLESMERE. I ſuppoſe he would gain ſomething from his experience. He would at leaſt tumble off on the other ſide. But I return to the charge, notwithſtanding Dunsford ſays that I am defeated; and I aſk, as I have aſked before, how is it that all your geniuſes and great men in general do not contrive to make themſelves happier. Of courſe they are the foremoſt in freedom, and therefore I take them as the moſt concluſive examples. I know what you will both ſay againſt happineſs, and, perhaps, I had better not keep to that word; but ſtill I cannot help thinking, that there ſhould be at leaſt a ſerene order of mind in the greater intelligences. Now looking both at the paſt and the preſent, as far as my experience goes, I ſhould ſay—what ſhould I ſay?—at any rate it would not be anything very favourable to the ſaid geniuſes and great men, that is, to the firſt in the ranks of the free.

DUNSFORD. I do not admit that they are neceſſarily the firſt in the ranks of the free. The humble and the good are there.

MILVERTON. To go back to men of genius and great

men, we happen to know ſome of their lives pretty well. It has been truly ſaid, they are the only lives we do know well; and even tolerably clear water, expoſed to a Drummond light, ſhows a great many pugnacious, horrid-looking animalculæ. Moreover, there are particular ſnares for men of genius. Their ſympathies are wider. They tranſact more life. The miſery of the world has more room to play about in them. They were, perhaps, intended to have more evil to contend with than other men: that they might look into it, and expreſs it, and thus help others to bear it. So beſt for them poſſibly, and ſo beſt for the world. At the ſame time it may be ſaid that ſuch men are by no one thing ſubdued. Their imaginations and their ſympathies which admit much of life and life's worſt ſtruggles to them, create an outlet for ſuch things to paſs away from them. And ſay what you like, my dear Elleſmere, we ſhould all of us rather have been ſo many Miltons, than ſo many ſlaves, though by chance, the latter may have contrived to have got leſs miſery out of their chains than he out of his freedom.

Elleſmere. Well done—wound up with a burſt of enthuſiaſm addreſſed to the jury. But I give up for the preſent. Some day we ſhall know more about theſe things, eſpecially if we can get that great deſideratum in literature, the life of a perfectly common-place man—of a man whoſe life no man would think worth writing, but which might be the moſt ſo of all. However, I want to change my ground entirely. I am not ſure but that what

I ſhould moſt object to in the minds of the great men I have been thinking of, is not an eſpecial product of weſtern civilization—a certain formal, reſtleſs, unreſigned, ſelf-tormenting, world-arranging diſpoſition.

MILVERTON. What a number of adjectives to that one poor ſubſtantive! A moſt polygamic ſubſtantive!

ELLESMERE. But, without joking, you know I have always had ſome eaſtern tendencies; and cannot but think that we have great defects in our weſtern views of life.

MILVERTON. D'Iſraeli, I declare.

ELLESMERE. It may be: I never care from whom I have an idea, ſo that I have it as my own. I have had this one a long time, as you know. I perceive ſomething of what I admire and wiſh to have for the weſt, in other developments beſides the eaſtern—occaſionally in what we read of barbaric tribes. I have ventured before to hint that all that we take for civilization may not be ſo.

MILVERTON. I do not mean to ſay that it might not be well to look with attention to any wiſe and great ideas that there may be in the eaſt: neither do I doubt that there is in every form of partial human development ſomething that it may be well to preſerve. Still, my dear fellow, what a gain it is, that in this weſtern world we keep our hands off each other, and there are ſuch things as property and law. But I am talking common-places to you.

ELLESMERE. Yes: theſe are very good things. We have only juſt got them, though. I was thinking rather of mental gains or loſſes—alſo of various ſocial arrange-

ments not altogether involved in property. But we will not talk any more about it juſt now. Some day or other I ſhall be able to ſhow you what I mean. What are you laughing at, Miſs Lucy?

LUCY. I am only picturing to myſelf Mr. Ellesmere as a native of the eaſt, reclining upon gorgeous pillows, ſmoking, and watching an interminable eaſtern dance.

MILVERTON. Both beautiful things. The delight of ſmoking, I ſhould think, muſt be to ſee the vapour "fold and ſwim," as Tennyſon ſays. Theſe vaporous forms are the very poetry of motion: and as for dancing, it is to me the moſt beautiful thing in the world when it is ſupremely done. People go into ecſtaſies about pictures—

ELLESMERE. I wiſh nine-tenths of the pictures that have been painted had never been preſerved: it is ſuch a nuiſance having to go and ſee them. Proceed.

MILVERTON. I was going to ſay that people go into ecſtaſies about things that are intended to repreſent the beautiful, (and which oftentimes do) but they will not ſee the beauty around them.

DUNSFORD. You do not ſee that trying to repreſent beauty teaches us to ſee what beauty is—makes us alive to it. No people ſee ſo much beauty in every-day life as great artiſts.

MILVERTON. That is true, I dare ſay.

LUCY. But what were you going to ſay, Mr. Milverton, about dancing? for that is what you were com-

ing to, and it is a ſubject which Mr. Elleſmere will kindly allow us ladies to have ſome intereſt in.

Milverton. Merely that I could watch it from morning till night, if it were good.

Ellesmere. So could not I. I would rather ſee the beauty of an intricate law caſe, any day. You laugh. You chuckled over thoſe people who could ſee beauty only in pictures: but you cannot imagine the beauty of an intricate, mazy law proceſs, embodying the doubts and ſubtleties of generations of men. I ſay, looked at in that way, there is ſomething pictureſque in an Act of Parliament.

Milverton. Well, you are now certainly making ſun of us: and, indeed, you have been very paradoxical throughout the converſation. Not but what there may be an exquiſite beauty of form in any well-arranged intellectual performance, from Acts of Parliament, up to the Allegro and Penſeroſo.

Dunsford. How Miltonic we have been to-day! But touching this dancing, you do not approve, Milverton, of operatic performances? I ſhall really be ſcandalized if you do.

Milverton. Approve of them! For the moſt part, I loathe them—more, if poſſible, from their uglineſs than their impropriety. The dancers, poor things, with perſeverance worthy of a better cauſe, being made into wretched, diſtorted, ſpinning machines of uglineſs—the dance itſelf ſhowing at the beſt a laboured intrepidity of indecorum—the whole of the upper part of the body

being left undeveloped, while the unfortunate legs are exercised unceasingly from morning to night, like a great scholar—

Ellesmere. Who has only the Greek-getting-up part of his mind developed, and is in other respects an utter blockhead.

Dunsford. Where, then, have you seen any such dancing as would at all come up to your ideal? Is there such a thing?

Ellesmere. Why, we have all forgotten, Dunsford, that here is a man who has seen boleros and fandangoes danced by the people who invented them. Let us forthwith form ourselves into a committee of enquiry upon this matter; and, calling Milverton before us, let us at once command that specimens of Spanish dancing be presented to us. Witness, what is a bolero?

Milverton. A thing of great beauty and condescending statelines: if the Graces had been brought up in Spain, they might have danced it, which cannot be predicated, I think, of the dances on any other stage I know of. I should be but too happy to show you how it is danced, but it requires a partner.

Ellesmere. Teach me.

Milverton. There are some teachers who cannot teach what they know well, and some people who cannot be taught what they are very desirous to learn.

Ellesmere. He talks like an old Greek philosopher to a stupid exoteric class.

Milverton. Well, I was going to tell you that it

was not upon the ſtage, or amongſt profeſſors of the art, that I had ſeen the moſt beautiful dancing; but amongſt peaſants and artiſans. There is a certain Spaniſh ſaint, called St. Iſidro, a ſhepherd ſaint, the tutelary of Madrid, and much venerated by all claſſes in that city. I was there on his feſtal day, when all Madrid flocks out to his chapel, two or three miles from the town; and there, in family parties, the citizens have their dinners and recreate themſelves. On the occaſion that I was preſent at, the weather was perfect. It was emphatically a day: often in that Babel you laud ſo much at times, Elleſmere, the ſun with all the good will in the world to do ſo, cannot make a day of it: and ſorrowfully leaves eighteen hundred thouſand perſons unſuſtained by his life-giving rays. It needs for you to be very clever and very amuſing people to make up for this.

Ellesmere. If only the ſmoke were away, we ſhould need none of your ruſtic pity.

Milverton. Well, as I ſaid, it was a day. No iced wind from the neighbouring ſierras came down upon us with the hot ſun, making a combination, like a falſe man's kindneſs, to mock us. The air was warm and yet bracing. Altogether it was very hard for thoſe who had to ſtay at home on that day. It was noon before I reached the place of concourſe. The whole ſcene was like a fair,—not one of our coarſe northern fairs, but the fair in a dream. Delightful bits of red and rich amber colour, which laſt the women much affect, came out amidſt the colour of the fields and the corn. The

whole length of the city overlooked the fields where the feſtival was kept.

I made my way through the crowd which preſſed up to the ſaint's chapel, or which thronged about the tents for refreſhment, and got out into the adjoining fields, where numbers of little parties were grouped about, ſome of whom were beginning to dance. All ſeemed happy. I ſuppoſe, though, there was the uſual undercurrent of vexation: Juan abſent from the little party where he was moſt longed for, and Beatriz not found in another which to ſome one was naught without her: or Catalina dancing coldly with Luis, to the heart-breaking of poor Pedro, who looked on at a diſtance, but might not join them. But theſe things were not viſible to the ſtranger. I ſtood for ſome time in the outer circle of ſeveral of theſe ſets of dancers, in a large, hilly field of irregular ſhape. Looking ſuddenly at the top of the hill, I ſaw againſt the blue ſky the figure of a young girl dancing beautifully. I made my way to the little home-party which this "phantom of delight" belonged to. It was on the extreme outſkirts of the throng. The girl was about twelve years old, and was dancing with one of her brothers, as I conjectured. I ſat down by the blind fiddler who was playing to them, and looked on. A light breeze waved againſt our backs the corn of the neighbouring field divided from us by no hedge. But how ſhall I deſcribe to you this girl and her dancing? She was dreſſed in the commoneſt dreſs, with no choiceneſs in its arrangement; having on coarſe clouted ſhoes, and

long looſe garments. Her face I do not diſtinctly remember: it was certainly not beautiful, only earneſt. But ſhe danced in the moſt conſummate manner you can conceive. It was the expreſſion of the height of paſſionleſs joy, in the utmoſt grace of movement. She wanted no admiration, had no other fooliſh thoughts; but only ſaid, as it were, to the byſtander "I am very "happy, and this is how I tell you ſo." Her brother, a graceful, fine youth, better dreſſed than his ſiſter, quitted the dance, and another brother ſucceeded. Still ſhe danced on. She tired him out, too; and the firſt brother then came on a ſecond time. But there was no wearineſs in her. She threw her hair off her face, and went on again. She had a ſpectator as untiring as herſelf, for, I believe, if ſhe had continued dancing till now, I ſhould have ſtill been watching her.

Dunsford. And what did you think of all this time?

Milverton. Ah, well, I thought of many things. I thought how the girl's talent for dancing would be noticed, and ſhe would be brought upon the ſtage: and then I fancied the proud diſguſt with which ſhe would liſten to the applauſe given to inferior dancers at the wrong place; and how, amidſt the gilt-paper-triumphs of ſuch a life, ſhe would look back, perhaps, upon this very day with fondneſs as a really happy day. And then, I remember, I thought how little we underſtand pleaſure, and how we cruſh the delicate thing in our clumſy efforts to hold it. And I looked up at the

ſplendid palace of Madrid, and thought of regal pomps and vanities. And then, how it was I know not, I thought of death. Perhaps anything very beautiful has that thought in the back-ground. But now the dance was ſtopped; the girl tripped off to fetch ſomething; and the elders of the party moved away. I went alſo; and though I returned to the ſame place and ſought afterwards in many other groups, I could not find again my beautiful dancer from the heart: nor, ſave in ſome auſpicious dream, ſhall I ſee ſuch dancing any more, I fear.

But let us go in: we have had ſo much talking and reading, at leaſt I have, that I am quite tired.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE we ſeparated after the laſt reading, we agreed, if it were fine, to have our next meeting at an inn in a little town about eight miles diſtant. We met there on the appointed day, and after dinner, Milverton read to us the following ſection of his eſſay.

2. THAT SLAVERY IS NEEDLESS.

Many a reader who has been quite willing to agree to the firſt propoſition "that ſlavery is "cruel," and who may ſcarcely have had patience for much detail in reference to that part of the ſubject, has all the while been troubled with an ill-defined apprehenſion of the needfulneſs of ſlavery at leaſt in certain caſes.

But for whom is it needful? For the maſters? If the ſuperior race on earth could in no wiſe till the earth *from ſome phyſical inaptitude* (a race, for inſtance, of the preſent European conſtitution, with nothing but rice-fields to work upon) and

the races under them could till it, but would not work more than enough to ſupport themſelves in a brutiſh way, and for whom all the finer head-work and hand-work of the ſuperior race had no attractions, there would then be a fair juſtification of the inſtitution of ſlavery. But this hypotheſis meets with no fulfilment in nature. There are millions of untried acres waiting for the Caucaſian race, where they may work out their own inſtitutions, without the draw-back of ſlavery amongſt them. And even if the hypotheſis were founded on reality, though it would be right, in ſelf-preſervation, for the wiſer race to compel the others to work for them, they would be bound at the ſame time to endeavour to elevate the character of the lower race, and to convert their forced ſervice into brotherly aid. Our imaginary Caucaſians would be bound to give their Helots a taſte for the higher neceſſities of civilization, ſo as to make them in turn dependent upon Caucaſian ſkill in the higher departments of life. Even in this extreme caſe, then, we might look for ſome termination to a ſtate of ſlavery abſolutely needful in the beginning. In real life there is no ſuch need. The celebrated Vieyra in one of his ſermons anſwers the people of Maranham on this head:

" But you will ſay to me, this people, this republic, " this ſtate cannot be ſupported without Indians. Who " is to bring us a pitche? of water or a bundle of wood? " Who is to plant our mandioc? Muſt our wives do it? " Muſt our children do it? In the firſt place, as you " will preſently ſee, theſe are not the ſtraits in which I " would place you: but if neceſſity and conſcience re- " quire it, then, I reply, yes! and I repeat yes! You " and your wives and your children ought to do it! We " ought to ſupport ourſelves with our own hands; for " better is it to be ſupported by the ſweat of one's own " brow, than by another's blood." *

On the other hand, is ſlavery needful for the ſlaves? If there were no other way but ſlavery to elevate them in the ſcale of beings, then that might be taken. I am not prepared to ſay that the intelligent ſhould exerciſe no dominion over the non-intelligent. For the ſake of both I contend they ſhould; only it ſhould not be of an extreme kind like ſlavery, unleſs there is an abſolute neceſſity. Now whether any ſuch neceſſity exiſts or not is a queſtion that may be ſettled by hiſtorical experience. Doubtleſs of almoſt every race in ſucceſſion, it has been pronounced by their

* *Vieyra's* firſt Sermon at St. Luiz, A.D. 1653; *Southey's* Hiſtory of Brazil, vol. ii. p. 479.

maſters, that to get any good out of them, it was neceſſary to have ſupreme power over them: and each race has falſified this arrogant aſſertion. To illuſtrate this, here is a fragment which I conjecture to have been part of a letter ſent by a Roman ſenator to ſome young man who had recently come into poſſeſſion of large property, and was inclined to act with unuſual benevolence towards his ſlaves.—" It might have been true in former " days when all ſlaves were captives in war from " people brave as ourſelves, but with this ſcum " of nations, it is abſurd. You favour much the " Britiſh race, and (forgive me) are wont from pa- " radox, to talk of their fidelity and valour. Two " of my ſlaves of that race, no later than the ides " of June were detected in a long courſe of deceit " and trickery; not only purloining, but laying " the crime on my Thracians, and even on Epæ- " netus, my freedman whom you know. The " truthful ſcourge brought this to light: and for " them there is no other reaſoning. Can ſuch a " rabble of barbarians become a nation? for by " nation I do not mean a horde of wandering ſa- " vages—

" Quorum plauſtra vagas rite trahunt domos—"

" but men formed to carry the ideas of power

" and juſtice over the world, fit not only to
" govern themſelves, but to ſway others? (a
" thoroughly Roman theory, by the way, of a na-
" tion.) The thing is impoſſible, and would
" only delude thoſe delirious perſons by whom
" every new and ſtrange thing is well received.
" Moreover my phyſician Feſtus tells me that
" theſe people are by the appointment of the
" Gods (*divinitus*) an inferior race, proved by
" their miſerably white ſkin. For, as he ſays,
" the lymph in their bodies is altogether of a
" poor and half-decocted nature which produces
" theſe ſickly appearances of pink and white.
" Hence the brain is of a flaccid ſubſtance and
" the whole body is ſuch as cannot be led to good
" but by ſtripes, not rarely applied. I do not
" ſay theſe things of myſelf, and ſhould deſpiſe
" to know them — but they are what the ſlave
" ſays (Feſtus). You yourſelf perceive the hang-
" dog look and abject bearing (*geſtum demiſſum*
" *perditumque vultum*) of theſe Britons. And
" it is with theſe, and ſuch as theſe, that we are
" to eat in company, for ſo I conſtrue Seneca's
" fine* words which you read to me the other

* Quid ergo? omnes ſervos admovebo menſæ meæ? non ma-

"day. Next, I ſuppoſe we are to intermarry "with them. But the Gods"—Here the fragment breaks off not inappropriately, as this kind of people are very apt to invoke the Gods in ſupport of their arguments.

But to argue the queſtion on broader grounds. It is not only true that ſlave-owners have always been apt to fancy that ſupreme authority and extreme meaſures were neceſſary in order to rule their ſlaves; but all people in authority have erred in the ſame way. Each year of wiſe government in a country generally goes to ſhow that men can be governed by leſs imperious means. That is the meaning and eſſence of civilization. At firſt a Turkiſh bit is needed, or ſuppoſed to be; and now, to uſe the ſimile of an ingenious ſatiriſt,† men are led by inviſible threads attached to their heads. Of the millions of actions of all kinds that will be done unwillingly by free men to-day,

gis quam omnes liberos? Erras, ſi exiſtimas me quoſdam quaſi ſordidioris operæ rejecturum, ut puta illum mulionem, et illum bubulcum: non miniſteriis illos æſtimabo, ſed moribus. Sibi quiſque dat mores: miniſteria caſus aſſignat. Quidam cœnent tecum, quia digni ſunt; quidam, ut ſint. Si quid enim in illis ex ſordida converſatione ſervile eſt, honeſtiorum convictus excutiet.—*Seneca* epiſt. XLVII.

† Adventures in the Moon.

the greater number of them will be done from no phyſical control or fear, but from motives which cannot be traced back to material influences, depending upon ſuch abſtractions as duty, public opinion, and ſuch things; increaſing in fineneſs and not diminiſhing in ſtrength, as we approach the moſt civilized parts of the earth. I have no doubt that it is not neceſſary to have ſupreme power over any reaſoning creature to lead it to its own good.

But it may be ſaid, that though this power might not have been neceſſary originally, yet that it is needed now. The original ſheep, for inſtance, naturaliſts tell us, was a hardy, boldly hitting, ſelf-ſufficient creature. We have brought it now to be timid, dependent, gregarious. Would it be right to diſmiſs it at once into a free ſtate, where it might periſh for want of a maſter's hand? For the ſheep I cannot anſwer. I ſuſpect that give it room enough, it would do better than we imagine, though deprived of the opportune and gentle coercion of the ſhepherd's dog; and that in a few generations it might recover ſome of its original hardihood and daring. But of men I have much leſs doubt. I cannot but believe that the ſlaves throughout the world, if ſet free inſtan-

taneouſly, with no preparation, would at once lead a happier, a better, a more promiſing life than they do now. It is true that, like the ſheep, they would yield leſs profit. They would, in fact, live for themſelves, and not for their maſters. There might be leſs ſugar and coffee in this caſe, as leſs wool in the other. I do not underrate the feebleneſs which comes upon men from being long unaccuſtomed to exerciſe a will of their own. Nor do I mean to ſay that there might not, moſt wiſely, be ſome preparation for a ſtate of freedom—but ſimply that abſolute and ſudden freedom would be better for the ſlaves than their preſent ſtate of ſlavery, in thoſe parts of the world where no preparation whatever is being made for their freedom.

Again, it may be urged that though ſlavery is needleſs for individual maſters, and needleſs for individual ſlaves; yet that a ſtate where ſlavery exiſts would be endangered by emancipation of the ſlaves. If it is meant that the general proceſs of emancipation of ſlaves in any ſtate might be attended with ſome danger and difficulty for the maſters, that is a queſtion to be met by thoſe who have to conſider in detail, how ſlavery ſhould be done away.

At preſent we are only ſeeing whether it is in itſelf a needful thing for maſters or ſlaves: and I think it has been ſhown to be needful for neither.

When we think of the reſponſibility of having full power over the actions of others (a reſponſibility which thinking men do not much like to take upon themſelves even in the caſe of animals) we might imagine that individual ſlave-owners and the governing powers in a ſlave-ſtate would alike be glad to get rid of ſlavery. It certainly requires much magnanimity to lay down any portion of power. But this is one fraught with ſo much apprehenſion, that, as a matter of comfort, if not of righteouſneſs, we might imagine they would be glad to be quit of it. They cannot flatter themſelves with the hope that they are improving the race of their ſlaves. If you wanted to improve the breed of any race, even of animals, you would not do it by keeping them to their loweſt functions, hindering the natural affections, ruling them by fear, and ſhowing them contempt, or contemptuous favour.

But ſome may think the greateſt difficulty is yet to be met. How are the eſtates to be cultivated, if ſlavery is not maintained? If this pecu-

niary notion is the baſis of ſlavery, the ground is much narrowed, and at any rate we come to this, that any degree of coercion that will meet the particular caſe will ſuffice. And at once, on this hypotheſis, we might riſe from ſlavery to a feudal ſyſtem, where certain ſervices admitted by all to be diſagreeable and difficult of procurement, are at certain times imperiouſly required. Even if the diminution of produce in our Weſt-India-Iſlands could be ſuppoſed to be an indication of what would happen under a wiſer ſyſtem of emancipation, and in a different country, (which I totally diſbelieve) it is as far as ever from being proved that the preſent ſlavery is needful for the ſlave owner, the ſlave, or the ſlave ſtate.

DUNSFORD. That fragment from the Roman author is very intereſting, Milverton.

MILVERTON. Very.

ELLESMERE. My dear Dunsford, what an invaluable creature you are, how charmingly you are impoſed upon. That Roman author has juſt been making a moſt Eu-

gliſh dinner at this very "Lion," or "Stag," or whatever it is called. Aſk Milverton to ſhew you the original.

MILVERTON. This is the way in which induſtrious people who hunt up fragments are treated. But let that paſs, as the villain in a tragedy at a fair ſays, when he has received ſome deadly inſult in the firſt act, which is to lead to a murder or two in the ſecond. Let that paſs. But ſeriouſly, Elleſmere, do you agree in the main argument of the eſſay?

ELLESMERE. Yes, quite. I will tell you a curious thing which came into my mind when you were ſpeaking of the feebleneſs of people long accuſtomed to have no will of their own. I hear from a correſpondent in Jamaica that fewer children are loſt ſoon after birth, now that the mothers are free, than there were in the times of ſlavery, though of courſe great care was taken of both mother and child, if only for the ſake of increaſing property.

MILVERTON. It is a curious fact, but there are other ways of accounting for it, beſides attributing it to the feebleneſs of the mothers. A mother would not be ſo anxious to preſerve the ſlave child as the free child.

ELLESMERE. Yes: I only mentioned it as a fact worth your inquiring into. As to the general argument of the eſſay, againſt the ſuppoſed needfulneſs of ſlavery, I think it of the firſt importance. I ſuppoſe it rarely occurs that an abuſe dies quite a natural death—I mean that everybody has found out that it is an abuſe—that it

drops off the tree without being ſhaken. It almoſt always appears needful to ſome perſons.

MILVERTON. To meet this view of the ſubject, Franklin has an admirable eſſay, conſiſting of a ſpeech by an imaginary Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the divan of Algiers, againſt the petition of the ſect called Erika who prayed for the abolition of piracy and ſlavery. I thought you would like to hear it, ſo I brought the little volume with me.

ELLESMERE. Let us have it.

MILVERTON. "Have theſe Erika conſidered the conſequences of granting their petition? If we ceaſe our cruiſes againſt the Chriſtians, how ſhall we be furniſhed with the commodities their countries produce, and which are ſo neceſſary for us? If we forbear to make ſlaves of their people, who, in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labour of our city, and of our families? Muſt we not then be our own ſlaves? And is there not more compaſſion and more favour due to us Muſſulmen than to thoſe Chriſtian dogs?—We have now above fifty thouſand ſlaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by freſh ſupplies, will ſoon diminiſh, and be gradually annihilated; If, then, we ceaſe taking and plundering the infidel's ſhips, and making ſlaves of the ſeamen and paſſengers, our lands will become of no value for want of cultivation; the rents of houſes in the city will ſink one half; and the revenues of government ariſing from the ſhare of prizes, muſt be

"totally deſtroyed.—And for what? To gratify the "whim of a whimſical ſect, who would have us not "only forbear making more ſlaves, but even manumit "thoſe we have. But who is to indemnify their maſ-"ters for the loſs? Will the ſtate do it? Is our treaſury "ſufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or "would they, to do what they think juſtice to the "ſlaves, do a greater injuſtice to the owners? And if "we ſet our ſlaves free, what is to be done with them? "Few of them will return to their native countries; "they know too well the greater hardſhips they muſt "there be ſubject to. They will not embrace our "holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our "people will not pollute themſelves by intermarrying "with them. Muſt we maintain them as beggars in "our ſtreets; or ſuffer our properties to be the prey of "their pillage? for men accuſtomed to ſlavery will not "work for a livelihood when not compelled.—And "what is there ſo pitiable in their preſent condition? "Were they not ſlaves in their own countries?"

ELLESMERE. It is ſo well done, that one can hardly believe that Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim is fabulous, and that the 'Times' reporter was not there. Go on.

MILVERTON. "I repeat the queſtion, what is to be "done with them? I have heard it ſuggeſted, that they "may be planted in the wilderneſs, where there is plenty "of land for them to ſubſiſt on, and where they may "flouriſh as a free ſtate.—But they are, I doubt, too little "diſpoſed to labour without compulſion, as well as too

" ignorant to eſtabliſh good government; and the wild " Arabs would ſoon moleſt and deſtroy, or again enſlave " them. While ſerving us, we take care to provide them " with everything, and they are treated with humanity. " The labourers in their own countries are, as I am in- " formed, worſe fed, lodged and clothed. The condition " of moſt of them is therefore already mended, and re- " quires no farther improvement. * * * * * * * How " groſſly are they miſtaken, in imagining ſlavery to be " diſavowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, " to quote no more, 'Maſters, treat your ſlaves with " kindneſs—Slaves, ſerve your maſters with cheerfulneſs " and fidelity,' clear proofs to the contrary? * * * * * " Let us then hear no more of this deteſtable propoſition, " the manumiſſion of Chriſtian ſlaves."

ELLESMERE. I had no idea the old republican had ſo much wit in him.

MILVERTON. It is an admirable piece of irony, certainly. But I will ſhow you that real life can beat it. Here is an extract from Southey's Brazil, which I had put up with the Franklin. It is part of a report of the proceedings of a Portugueſe Commiſſion appointed to decide about the fate of ſome Indian captives at Belem.

" But the ſuperiors of the Carmo and of the Merces " voted that they ſhould all be ſlaves, becauſe among " Savages all wars were lawful. The Franciſcan Supe- " rior began by ſaying he wiſhed God would reveal to " him by an angel whether thoſe wars had been juſt or " unjuſt: but he inclined to believe they were juſt, be-

"cauſe the Doctors had laid down that there were "twelve juſt cauſes of war, and among ſo many it was "impoſſible that theſe men ſhould not have fallen upon "one. To this it was replied, the Doctors had alſo "laid down that there were twenty-four unjuſt cauſes "of war, and therefore upon his own premiſes, the "chances againſt his concluſion were preciſely two to "one. He, however, gave his vote that they ſhould be "all ſlaves, but that their children if they had any ſhould "be free. The vicar gave no reaſon for his opinion, but "merely pronounced 'Slaves! Slaves!' This was his "uniform vote, and his uniform manner of voting; and "when he was once preſſed to explain the motives for "his deciſion, he anſwered, that the men who preſented "theſe captives were Chriſtians; and therefore it was "not to be preſumed that they would do anything "wrong; that ſuch had always been the cuſtom in that "ſtate;—that if the Indians were declared free, the men "who had procured them would loſe their labour, and "there would be a mutiny among the people. One of "the Friars helped him in this precious reaſoning, by "ſaying, that the Indians loſt nothing by becoming "ſlaves, and that ſlavery was a practice which origi-"nated in compaſſion, ... as if, ſays Vieyra, it "were the ſame thing to commute death for ſervitude, "as to deprive a free man of his liberty."

ELLESMERE. Swift might have written every word of it—no, not every word—for he would not have put in that word "precious," but would have told the ſtory

in such a manner, that many a reader would not exactly make out what the narrator himself thought of the transaction. Ah me, it is terrible though, that all this hideous irony should be about real men, and not Brobdingnags and Lilliputians.

Dunsford. Well, I am glad to see that there are other things in the passage besides the irony of it, that strike you. It seemed as if we were tending only to criticism, and discussions about irony.

Ellesmere. We cannot always have our pity on the surface in the right conventional quantity and quality, Dunsford. Night presses down in our minds upon things that we, in pity to ourselves, will not let the daylight in upon. In considering the affairs of life, we might stand pity-struck, if we did not save ourselves sometimes from it. I can understand how a Goethe, anxious to make the most of himself, should avoid horrors.

Dunsford. It is easy to see that the most humane man may talk of horrors without taking them up on the pitiable side. But as to what you say of Goethe, I do not altogether approve of such circumspect avoidance of painful subjects.

Ellesmere. He did the same with certain great intellectual questions. They might agitate other men; they would, he saw, to the end of time; but he passed them by, not seeing that anything would come of them in his mind. And time and labour would be lost.

Milverton. A prudent wisdom; but there is a higher wisdom which does not remind us of prudence.

ELLESMERE. We wont talk about Goethe. No two people can agree about a great man. He preſents ſo much to them.

But, Milverton, what, may I aſk, are the eſpecial delights of this little inn?

MILVERTON. My dear fellow, no human pleaſure will bear to be put in the witneſs-box, as I ſee you are going to put this.

ELLESMERE. But, really, this is a common-place ſort of affair—a well proportioned room, with no oddities about it.

MILVERTON. Look out from this window and conſider that countenance in brick-work. To the left. There is ſomething unuſual for you.

DUNSFORD. Upon my word there is. That is Roman—the face of ſome emperor, I do believe—perhaps Probus, whoſe coins we have hereabouts.

MILVERTON. It ſeems Roman certainly. I knew there was ſuch a thing here which would at leaſt be ſomething for you to ſee.

DUNSFORD. We will have a good look at it before we go.

ELLESMERE. And ſome Edie Ochiltrie will come up to us and ſay he "minds the bigging of it."

MILVERTON. No—it came from an old place in the neighbourhood, and was then fixed in that wall. Theſe parts abound in Roman remains. I always fancy that the faces of the peaſantry have a great deal of the Roman in them. I care much more about Roman anti-

quiries than any other to be found here. We ſeem to have ſo much in common with anything ſince William the Conqueror's time. But a r lic of theſe old Romans takes one into another world as it were.

DUNSFORD. By a Roman road.

MILVERTON. Yes; and of al. that they have left behind them, there is ſcarcely anything which intereſts me more than one of theſe fame roads. Look at it in the map, how it ſtands alone amidſt the judicious windings of modern invention. It is like the doings of a ſtern, fearleſs, outſpoken man, often going over huge hills which, with a little management, he might have gone round; but you know where he is going, and what he does mean. He does not pretend to know the eaſieſt way: he can only ſay that his is the ſtraighteſt.

ELLESMERE. With my lawyer-like notions, I am not ſo great an admirer of this brutal directneſs. What ſays Wallenſtein?

> Straight forward goes
> The lightning's path, and ſtraight the fearful path
> Of the cannon ball. Direct it flies and rapid
> Shattering that it *may* reach, and ſhattering what it reaches.
> My ſon! the road, the human being travels,
> That, on which bleſſing comes and goes, doth follow
> The river's courſe, the valley's playful windings,
> Curves round the cornfield and the hill of vines,
> Honouring the holy bounds of property!
> And thus ſecure, though late, leads to its end.

What I like the Romans for, is their ſtoicism. That was a grand theory for them. It is impoſſible not to

have ſome reſpect for it—a man thinking that he has no clear cauſe for hope or comfort, here or hereafter, but reſolving that at any rate he will bear what comes—and making out a religion of endurance only. Human nature driven into a corner and ſtanding at bay! Slight thinkers will tell you that ſtoiciſm was but a theory, never tranſlated into life. But none of theſe great ideas remain theories only. You do not ſee them, perhaps, meet any particular caſe; but they form the mind: they impoſe limits both upon thought and feeling.

Dunsford. If I were not frightened by Elleſmere's "ſlight thinkers" I ſhould ſay ſomething, I think, depreciatory of Stoiciſm—But let us go and ſee that Roman Emperor in brick, and then come back and talk over Stoiciſm. By that time I ſhall have courage.

Ellesmere. Don't you think, Milverton, we might have another part of this eſſay on Slavery in the courſe of the evening. I aſked you to bring a good deal of it. And then, as we ride home, we can talk it over, or wander into other things. Having ſomething to diſcuſs, which one ought to keep to, makes diſcurſiveneſs more pleaſant.

Milverton. I ſuſpect, Dunsford, that Elleſmere is very anxious to get through this ſubject.

Ellesmere. Indeed I am not. I like theſe eſſays which are addreſſed to ſome concrete ſubject, and which at leaſt pretend to go upon facts, and to make for ſome definite courſe of action. I dont think them dull at all—at leaſt not for an evening at an inn.

MILVERTON. Perſuaſive and complimentary man that you are, you ſhall be indulged with another ſection: the next thing I want to prove is, that ſlavery is unauthorized. And, after having completed our antiquarian reſearches, we will return to that.

We were ſoon again aſſembled in the inn parlour, and Milverton proceeded to read the following ſection.

3. THAT SLAVERY IS UNAUTHORIZED.

There are three main ſources of authority other than a man's own conſcience. Theſe are the words and deeds of inſpired perſons, of wiſe men in former days, of wiſe men in the preſent time. The advocates of ſlavery would probably contend that they had all three in their favour, eſpecially the firſt. If ſo, it is a tower of ſtrength to them, which we of the other ſide cannot leave untaken behind us. In the courſe of diſlodging them from it, we ſhall find ourſelves on the perilous margin of ſome deep and difficult queſtions which cannot however be avoided.

The queſtion of verbal inſpiration for inſtance, meets us at the outſet. If any ſentence taken from the bible is of that virtue, that, without be-

ing looked at it in reference to the context, by the light of hiſtory, with the aid of general criticiſm, or even particular compariſon with other texts, it is concluſive; in ſhort, if each text is to have an infallibility of its own, then poſſibly ſome text may be found which might at once give the authority of Scripture to the practice of ſlaveholding.

But is there to be no ſuch thing as advance beyond any portion of the Bible; May not the higheſt conception of inſpired perſons be much below what the inſpiration of themſelves and others will produce, when it has enlarged and enlightened the minds of ſucceſſive generations? Were the ideas of inſpired perſons upon all ſubjects abſolutely right? We cannot ſay ſo without, as it ſeems, a thorough perverſion of the plain ſenſe of their words, endeavouring, for inſtance, to make out that ſome of the Apoſtles did not believe that the world was to come to an end in their time; we cannot ſay ſo without a complete ſuppreſſion of ſcience, inſiſting for inſtance on the ſun's moving round the earth, and the earth ſtanding ſtill the while. "E pur ſi muove." "It does move though." So, with ſlavery. Compel us to bow down to the narroweſt inter-

pretation of individual texts, the heart relying on the ſpirit of ſcripture, ſtill whiſpers to itſelf: men ſhould be free.

It may be ſaid that the inſtances given above relate to phyſical matters; but that moral laws are enounced clearly, and are not to be amended. Doubtleſs the higheſt moral principles are to be found clearly enounced in the Bible, and are ſuch as human nature may in vain attempt to advance beyond. But ſlavery is not one of theſe principles. You find regulations reſpecting it. Do each of theſe regulations contain high principles exhauſting the poſſibilities of human nature? In other Jewiſh practices, in the treatment of priſoners for inſtance, do we recogniſe an infallible authority for ſimilar conduct on our part? Again, ſlavery is a thing of mixed nature, varying in every clime, originating in various circumſtances, and leading to various reſults. Regulations about it cannot well be univerſal. Principles may. The truth is, the giſt of our opponents' arguments is, that had ſlavery been fatally wrong, it would have been forbidden in the Bible. The queſtion is, whether it was fatally wrong for that time: and I do not know that any one aſſerts that it was. It muſt be recollected, however, that the inſtitution

of ſlavery commenced in the ranſom of captives who otherwiſe might have been ſlain, or in buying the ſervices for life of indigent perſons from themſelves. The Jewiſh law was extreme againſt any other kind of ſlave-dealing. "And he that ſteal-"eth a man, and ſelleth him, *or if he be found in* "*his hand*, he ſhall ſurely be put to death."*

We are not bound to confine ourſelves to the nice and hazardous queſtions we have juſt been treating. Say what we may about theſe queſtions, there are perſons who will look at them from another ſide, and who may ſtill ſuppoſe that the Bible affords a ſtrong hold for the advocates of modern ſlavery. But we are now coming to cloſer quarters. Allow that the ſyſtem of Jewiſh ſlavery is a divinely authorized one, and that we have made, and are to make, no advance in humanity ſince then, ſtill the ſyſtem of modern ſlavery is utterly unauthorized,—is utterly condemned. Where is the Jubilee in Carolina or Georgia? Again, Moſes ſays, "Thou ſhalt not deliver "unto his maſter the ſervant which is eſcaped "from his maſter unto thee: he ſhall dwell with "thee, even among you, in that place which he

* Exodus ch. xxi. v. 16.

" ſhall chooſe in one of thy gates, where it liketh " him beſt: thou ſhalt not oppreſs him."* What will the ſlave ſtates ſay to that? Moſes bids the Iſraelites " gather the people together, men and " women and children, and thy ſtranger that is " within thy gates, that they may hear, and that " they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, " and obſerve to do all the words of this law."† Is this a law againſt teaching ſlaves? Moſes ordains, that " if a man ſmite the eye of his ſervant, " or the eye of his maid, that it periſh, he ſhall " let him go free for his eye's ſake. And if he " ſmite out his manſervant's tooth, or his maid-" ſervant's tooth; he ſhall let him go free for his " tooth's ſake."‡ If this were law ſouth of the Potomac, what need would there be for thoſe advertiſements deſcribing ſlaves by the very injuries, which then would be the titles to their freedom? Can modern ſlave-owners ſay with Job, " If I did " deſpiſe the cauſe of my manſervant or of my " maidſervant, when they contended with me: " what then ſhall I do when God riſeth up? and " when he viſiteth, what ſhall I anſwer him? Did

* Deuteronomy ch. xxiii. v. 15. † Ibid. ch. xxxi. v. 12.
‡ Exodus ch. xxi. v. 26.

" not he that made me in the womb make him?
" And did not one faſhion us in the womb?"*

I ſubjoin a ſummary of the ſtate of Jewiſh ſlaves, for thoſe who wiſh to be minutely acquainted with the ſubject.

" With the Iſraelites ſervice was either voluntary, or " judicially impoſed by the law of God. Strangers only, " or the deſcendants of ſtrangers, became their poſſeſſion " by purchaſe; but, however acquired, the law gave the " Jewiſh ſervants many rights and privileges: they were " admitted into covenant with God; they were gueſts " at all the national and family feſtivals; they were " ſtatedly inſtructed in morals and religion; they were " releaſed from their regular labour nearly one half of " their term of ſervitude. The ſervants of the Iſraelites " were protected by the law equally with their maſters; " and their civil and religious rights were the ſame. Fi- " nally theſe ſervants had the power of changing their " maſters, and of ſeeking protection where they pleaſed, " and ſhould their maſters by any act of violence injure " their perſons, they were releaſed from their engage- " ments. The term of Hebrew ſervitude was ſix years, " beyond which they could not be held unleſs they " entered into new engagements; while that of ſtrangers, " over whom the rights of the maſter were compara-

* Job ch. xxxi. v. 13, 14, 15.

" tively abſolute, terminated in every caſe on the return " of the jubilee, when liberty was proclaimed to all." *

If modern ſlavery were anything like Jewiſh ſlavery, there would have been, comparatively ſpeaking, but little need of abolitioniſts to moot the ſubject.

But if Jewiſh authority avails the defenders of ſlavery but little, perhaps Chriſtianity may do ſo more. On the contrary, however, I venture to aſſert that Chriſtianity never was more wronged than when uſed to defend a ſyſtem like modern ſlavery. Chriſtianity entered into no political ſyſtem, to confirm it. Syſtems, conſtitutions, and the like are periſhable things, and if Chriſtianity could be ſhut up in them, it would be periſhable too. The great precepts of Chriſtianity, " Do as you would " be done by," " Love your neighbour as your- " ſelf," will hardly be produced to juſtify the continuance of modern ſlavery. Does any one think, that if a ſlave-owner were to aſk the queſtion " who is my neighbour," that his ſlave would be pointed out as an eſpecial exception? Or does any Chriſtian imagine that the author of his re-

* Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, vol. ii. p. 775.

ligion would look with ſatisfaction on ſlavery now.

But Saint Paul gave directions how maſters and ſlaves ſhould behave to each other—but he ſent back Oneſimus to his maſter. Theſe are the arguments in reply. Saint Paul's Maſter ſaid "render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's;" does that perpetuate the neceſſity for imperial dominion, or conclude that ſuch dominion is the beſt form of government? Men's inſtitutions, are, if we may ſay ſo, left to themſelves; Chriſtianity aims alone at giving the ſpirit which ſhould form thoſe inſtitutions, and teaching people how to live under them.

But if inſpired writers cannot be brought as authorities for modern ſlavery, there may be adduced a general conſent of the eminent men of antiquity. And for what may there not? The habits and prejudices of their own times oppreſs the greateſt intellects, as a ſlight barrier cloſe to the eyes totally interrupts the keeneſt viſion. Still it muſt not be allowed to be a general conſent to the whole doctrines of modern ſlavery. The Greeks certainly looked upon ſlavery (like ſome modern ſlave owners) as a thing deſirable with reference to the laws of nature and the per-

manent diverſities in the races of men.* But the Romans viewed ſlavery as a creature of the law.† Some of their moſt eminent men endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of ſlaves; for laws of this kind were paſſed by Auguſtus, Claudius, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus, Conſtantine, Theodoſius II., and Juſtinian.‡ It is pleaſant alſo to obſerve that there are inſtances of ſeveral of the moſt eminent men treating their ſlaves with kindneſs, or, in their writings, ſhowing ſome concern for the cruelties practiſed upon ſlaves. Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Pliny, Plutarch, Juvenal, Perſius and Martial may be quoted to ſupport this.§ And above all, Seneca, whoſe letter before referred to, is one of the moſt admirable things that have been written on the ſubject of ſlavery.

Again, in eſtimating the Roman ſyſtem of ſlavery, the manumiſſion muſt be taken into account, a manumiſſion ſo frequent, that Auguſtus thought it right to reſtrict it within certain limits.

But making the beſt that can be made of ſlavery amongſt the Greeks or Romans, it is one of

* *Blair*, p. 297. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. pp. 86, 87.
§ Ibid. p. 125.

the greateſt blots upon their ſocial ſyſtem; and any one would imagine that a reaſonable man of modern times would no more think of looking up to the ancients as authorities for the maintenance of ſlavery, than he would of defending the expoſure of children, or the combats of gladiators, becauſe ancient men of renown perceived no evil in either of theſe practices. Very wiſe men in this country once thought torture a judicious mode of diſcovering truth. We are above that error now; we have found it out: nothing but a general relapſe into barbariſm could bring us back to it. Long columns of weighty names would never again reconcile us to burning witches. And, upon ſimilar grounds, the opinions and practice of antiquity as regards ſlaves, even of the wiſeſt part of it, ſhould not be received as any valid authority whatever in juſtification of the ſyſtem of modern ſlavery.

The third ſource of authority, as mentioned before, is to be found in the words and conduct of contemporaries. And here ſlavery finds anything but allies. Among thoſe who are themſelves intereſted, at leaſt as they believe, in maintaining the ſlave ſyſtem, there will be many honourable men of ſuperior attainments: and

others will point to them and ſay, can it be wrong to think as they think, to do as they do? But as we found, in eſtimating the weight of ancient authority, ſo here alſo, general ſagacity and uprightneſs cannot bear up againſt the prejudices amongſt which a man is born — which are the breath of his noſtrils to him. Putting, therefore, the authority of theſe intereſted perſons at the higheſt, we cannot conſider it as the beſt which can be given. And when we go from them to impartial judges, even the advocates of ſlavery themſelves, will, I apprehend, allow that the utmoſt that is generally pronounced for them by the outer world—that is, the free world,—is of a negative character: that ſlavery is not ſo bad as it is repreſented—that it is very well talking about the evils of ſlavery, but who will find the remedy—that it is doubtful whether the negro race is capable of high development—and other generalities of this kind. But I do not know of any great thinker of modern times whoſe deliberate and diſintereſted opinion can be adduced in favour of modern ſlavery.

Almoſt immediately after the reading, we commenced our ride homewards, intending to

have our converſation on horſeback, which thus began, as the horſes ſtarted off with their wonted eagerneſs to get to their own ſtables.

ELLESMERE. Fauſt and Mephiſtopheles on wild horſes!

MILVERTON. Who is Dunsford then?

ELLESMERE. (Aſide, but I heard it) Wagner.

MILVERTON. This is ſomething that ſteam cannot do for us, is it not?

ELLESMERE. A ſteam engine would be very well to ride for once. But as it has no memory, no temper, no perverſities to deal with, the amuſement would ſoon be over. Now this animal of yours recollects my being croſs with her this morning; and is bent upon puniſhing me for it. And I am obliged to be very civil to the creature, that ſhe may not be more fractious the next time I have to ride her. There is a great deal of diplomacy going on between us.

MILVERTON. Louis the Eleventh managing the Duke of Burgundy. Louis is at Peronne juſt at preſent.

ELLESMERE. Well, but about the eſſay. I had no idea there was ſuch a caſe to be made againſt modern ſlavery from the Jewiſh treatment of ſlaves. When we

get home, you must let me have the essay. I want to look at the passages you quote and to see the context.

Milverton. You shall.

Ellesmere. Does much wind come up the valley behind your house?

Milverton. It is bleak in winter there; but why do you ask?

Ellesmere. You were talking the other day about opinions being burnt into, or out of, men: and as there is some burning matter in that last section of your essay, I was thinking what were the conveniences. Of course it is desirable that the burning should be near home, to make the example tell better.

Milverton. You allude to what I say about inspiration: but I have great names to shelter me. Have you ever read Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit"?

Ellesmere. Yes; and I have long wondered that the subject should have remained, comparatively speaking, dormant.

Milverton. It is strange to think what awful questions there are behind this rubbish about white or black gowns, and the like.

Dunsford. Not rubbish by any means—often at the least the counters with which the great game is played.

Milverton. But do not great questions thus get pared down, or partially considered, or entirely avoided?

Ellesmere. The last may be a gain.

Milverton. Should the greatest questions however

ariſe in religion and be moſt fiercely debated, I hardly think people will be able to illuſtrate their arguments by ſuch doings as they were wont. The wind in that valley will not, I think, in a hurry be put to the uſe you were ſo kindly imagining, Elleſmere.

Ellesmere. I ſhould be ſorry, myſelf, to make any diſtinct prophecy about the limits of human intolerance.

Milverton. I think there are limits now. But what things have been done! I don't know how it is with you, but religious intolerance and its fruits form an abyſs of a ſubject for contemplation which I cannot get away from, ſometimes. Now, laſt night, I was reading of the thirty years' war, juſt at the deſtruction of Magdeburg—the town fired and thirty thouſand people deſtroyed in a day.

Dunsford. Proteſtants, were they not?

Milverton. Yes—but Proteſtants were juſt as bad in their way. In fact both names, Proteſtant and Catholic, are ſo ſteeped in blood, that one hardly likes, I think, to lay any claim to either. Then, when you come to think what the ſubjects of this religious diſcord were and are—refinements and abſtractions about which no man ſcarcely can have what may be called an opinion. Then, again, if you conſider what a fallacious thing agreement of opinion is—how uncertain. Let a man only obſerve the changes he goes through in a day. A candid man who really looked into what was paſſing in his mind would often acknowledge that he had been

on all ſides of a queſtion in the courſe of a day. Macbeth aſks:

"Who can be wiſe, amazed, temperate and furious,
"Loyal and neutral, in a moment?"

He anſwers: "no man." I ſhould venture to ſay: "all men."

DUNSFORD. Puſh this to an extreme, and you get rid of all character.

MILVERTON. No—there is a courſe purſued both in feeling and opinion, which coincides with, and reſults from, character; but the oſcillations, at leaſt in minds of any ſelf-reliance, are often unceaſing.

But to ſhow what agreement in opinion may be; take ſuch a caſe as the following. Let two men have ſtrong and deliberate opinions which agree. Still their preſent agreement may indicate an intenſe diſagreement at a future time, and may ſhow at preſent extreme diverſity of nature. So that it may only come to this, that at a particular point of their ſeveral paths there is interſection. After and before they may diverge indefinitely.

DUNSFORD. This is very ſubtle.

MILVERTON. Indeed it is much more common-place than you at firſt imagine. Now, Elleſmere, if you (oh he is half a mile off) but, Dunsford, if Elleſmere who is a man that has ſeen much of the world, has been in many tranſactions, and gone through many ſtages of opinion, if he were to find a young man from college exactly agreeing with him on ſome difficult political

queſtion—the youth not talking after anybody elſe, but having worked out principles for himſelf which ſettle this queſtion for him in the way that Elleſmere has been worn down to. Would you claſs thoſe two men as really alike? They agree now: in the rotation of crops both lands happen for a ſeaſon to bear the ſame grain; but the ſoils are eſſentially different.

Dunsford. I muſt own that your theory works out better than I had thought. But apply it largely, and what becomes of churches and parties and all bodies of men.

Melverton. Such conſiderations as I have mentioned need not break up what is really uſeful and harmonious in bodies of men. But theſe ſaid conſiderations would often take the ſting out of intolerance. Advantages of many kinds are to be obtained by men agreeing with each other in opinion on different ſubjects: and men will be contented—muſt be contented, with the beſt agreement amongſt them they can get. But had many a bigot ſeriouſly thought what the minds of men are like, and what agreement amongſt them is, it might have tamed him wonderfully. Similar conſiderations apply to our judgment of the moral character alſo.

Dunsford. How? I do not ſee what you mean.

Melverton. Why that in the one caſe you will often have to go deeper than the action, to look for the moral character; as in the other, deeper than the opinion, to look for the mental character.

Elleſmere. Well, at laſt I have got back to you.

Whether this deteſtable mare has had enough of philoſophy in her time, or that ſhe has determined to pay me off for this morning's work, I have only been able to catch faint buzzings of talk till we came in ſight of your red chimneys. I have no doubt I ſhould have diſagreed with what you were ſaying—ſo you may enter a proteſt for me. Thank goodneſs we are at home again. Philoſophers ſhould have nothing but cobs for themſelves and their friends.

MILVERTON. Louis has got back to Pleſſis les Tours, and ought only to be too glad to be there with unbroken bones.

CHAPTER III.

A LONG interval has elapſed between the time of our laſt reading in the little inn at —— and the reading which will be given in this chapter. It almoſt ſeemed as if our converſation about travel had ſomething prophetic in it. When we laſt parted, we were all looking forward to many a ſummer's day ſpent together amidſt this ſimple Engliſh ſcenery; and never dreamt that the next time we ſhould meet would be in the city of many churches, Cologne. But ſhortly after the reading recorded in the laſt chapter, Milverton's health ſuddenly broke down. His illneſs was long and tedious; and a change of climate was recommended for him. The remedy was in great meaſure ſucceſsful; and early in the enſuing ſpring when our friend ſtill lingered in his way homewards, Elleſmere propoſed to me to go and meet him on the Rhine. Lucy, at Elleſmere's requeſt, accompanied me; and we had the pleaſure of finding Milverton in comparatively renovated health at

Cologne. It was one day while we were looking idly from the bridge of boats, that Elleſmere expreſſed a wiſh that we had one of "our eſſays," for ſo he called them, to read. Milverton told him that he could ſoon gratify him in that reſpect; for, very fooliſhly as I think, he had ſent for his books and papers. He alſo ſaid he would ſhow us a place—not exactly like our lawn—but ſtill very fit for a quiet reading; and accordingly the next day he carried us to the yard cloſe to the cathedral, near the ſheds where the maſons are working, and ſaid we might ſeat ourſelves on the great ſtones which lay ſcattered about, and have our reading there.

After going over the cathedral which, however often we may have ſeen it, it is almoſt impoſſible to be near without entering, and difficult to enter without ſtaying longer than was intended, we returned to the group of ſtones we had fixed on for our ſeats; and, interrupted only by the repeated click of the workmen's tools, Milverton read the following ſection of his eſſay on ſlavery.

4. THAT SLAVERY, IS MISCHIEVOUS TO THE MASTER AS WELL AS TO THE SLAVE.

What is the wealth of a ſtate, in the large ſenſe of the word? not gold certainly—nor iron—nor large population—nor fertile vegetation—nor extenſive territory — nor even wiſe laws. Adam Smith ſays:

It deſerves to be remarked, perhaps, that it is in the progreſſive ſtate, while the ſociety is advancing to the further acquiſition, rather than when it has acquired its full complement of riches, that the condition of the labouring poor, of the great body of the people, ſeems to be the happieſt and the moſt comfortable. It is hard in the ſtationary, and miſerable in the declining ſtate; the progreſſive ſtate is in reality the cheerful and the hearty ſtate to all the different orders of the ſociety. The ſtationary is dull; the declining melancholy.

This may afford a clue to what the wealth that we are ſeeking to underſtand, conſiſts in. It is a power of action, rather than a thing poſſeſſed. It cannot be realized, except partially, being inexhauſtible. If we muſt give any one word for it, that word is vitality. That vitality, however, is the ſum of many things, and depends upon many

things having juſt relations to each other. It is the focus, as it were, where many rays of light converge. If there is heat there, there is warmth throughout the body politic. This vitality is nowhere more ſeen, perhaps, than in the power of progreſs in a nation: and at firſt thinking on this ſubject, we may imagine that we have come to the root of the matter, in concluding that the power of progreſs is the wealth of a nation. But this will not always be a juſt teſt; for phyſical circumſtances ſuch as a vaſt unoccupied territory, may give great power of progreſs, even too great for a time. The vitality that I mean conſiſts of a certain elaſticity and durability alſo. We ſhould be able to ſay of a great nation, as of a great man,

"Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color et ſtatus et res."

Part of this vitality conſiſts in national character; but the higheſt national character in ſome portion only of the nation will not do. The Spartans would never have grown into a great people. As you require a certain extent of territory for a conſiderable nation, ſo you do a certain extent of mind — of ſelf-governing mind. Imagine England, for inſtance, to have conſiſted

only of feudal lords and their retainers. Let theſe feudal lords have been great people, and worthy to lead. Still there would not have been ſubſtance enough, or variety of poſition enough, to bear up againſt reverſes, or minds enough for national reſources to have grown out of. Deduct all that men of the humbler claſſes have done for England in the way of inventions only; and ſee where ſhe would have been but for them.

Now turn to a ſlave ſtate. What have we there? A ſolid dead weight—a conſtant quantity, as the mathematicians would ſay, in regard of mental power—of which the moſt that can be hoped, in adverſe circumſtances, is that it ſhould be only dead weight. A ſlave ſtate is at beſt like a nation conſiſting of a few men and a great many beaſts of burden—very tractable creatures perhaps, but no comfort in adverſity, and chiefly uſeful for flight. Whereas in a great, free, many-minded ſtate, the current never ſets all one way. Diverſe intereſts, diverſe opinions, diverſe temperaments, produce a wholeſome agitation and ſupport the vitality. Then, again, in times of peace a large maſs of ſlave population has from year to year the ſame neceſſities provided for it; gives little encouragement therefore either to arts

or ſciences; and adds nothing by invention to national pleaſure and national wealth.

The advantages to individual ſlave owners muſt be great indeed if they can balance the national evils ariſing from ſlavery. The good effect produced upon their characters by ſlave-owning muſt be very conſiderable, if it can compenſate for the evils they have to endure as citizens of a ſlave ſtate—namely, the weakneſs moral, intellectual, and phyſical, of the ſtate, and the chronic fear of inſurrection. Now, à priori, the owning of ſlaves would not occur to one as a ready method of forming greatneſs of character. We do not find on this ſide of the Atlantic that thoſe claſſes who are leaſt contradicted are the wiſeſt people amongſt us. We ſhould think, too, that if there is one evil greater than almoſt any other for a child, it would be, to be brought up, as muſt often happen, amongſt thoſe over whom it is taught to exerciſe ſupreme authority, and with whom it is not encouraged to ſympathize. Human nature differs in planter latitudes from human nature here, if the child accuſtomed to deſpotic ſway from infancy does not grow up deſpotic, headſtrong and capricious. And, as the moſt delicate plants ſuffer moſt from any blighting influence,

we ſhould expect that women would be even more injured than men by poſſeſſing arbitrary power over ſlaves. It is poſſible that the character of the planter may contraſt favourably with the over-reaching, clever, higgling character which he may ſometimes be brought in contact with. There is ſome compenſation for almoſt every evil. The man who is accuſtomed to live with utter dependents, will not have any of the habits of over-reaching craft. I do not ſay that there may not be admirable qualities in the character of a ſlave-owner, ſome of them even foſtered by his peculiar circumſtances; but I ſuſpect it will generally be found to be deficient in tolerance, helpfulneſs and patient endurance. If not, deſpotiſm will in this inſtance have failed to be the two-edged weapon that it moſtly has been—injurious alike to thoſe who wield it, and to thoſe who ſuffer from it.

MILVERTON. Well, critic, what do you think?

ELLESMERE. I like that part where you ſay that the ſameneſs of the wants of ſlaves, or rather of all that is

provided for ſlaves, proves a great diſcouragement to arts and ſciences and ingenuity of all kinds, in ſlave countries.

MILVERTON. But have you nothing to find fault with?

ELLESMERE. Shortneſs diſarms criticiſm. When I think, too, how you might have afflicted us with a long diſſertation about ſlavery being the cauſe of the fall of nations, with quotations from Monteſquieu and other authorities, I feel quite benignantly diſpoſed.

MILVERTON. If I had had more to ſay I ſhould have ſaid it. I ſhould like to have laboured more at this part of the ſubject, and could find plenty to do in it, but, as Paracelſus ſays,

> 'Tis clear if we refuſe
> The means ſo limited, the tools ſo rude
> To execute our purpoſe, life will fleet,
> And we ſhall fade, and nothing will be done.

I feel the full force of theſe words now. Since I have been ill, I have ſo often feared that I might not be able to put into ſhape the unfiniſhed work that I have by me, eſpecially upon this ſubject, that I am content to ſay at once what I have to ſay without much more waiting.

ELLESMERE. I will not gainſay you in that.

LUCY. Don't you think, Mr. Milverton, that a mother, or an elder ſiſter, in a ſlave ſtate, being aware of the moral dangers to a child which you point out from its being educated amongſt ſlaves, might counteract the evil?

MILVERTON. Poſſibly; in ſome caſes.

ELLESMERE. How beautiful the ſhadows are of thoſe flying buttreſſes!

There is nothing more that I ſee to be ſaid about your laſt ſection. Let us go into the Cathedral again.

MILVERTON. I am content. The next reading will be a very long one and may tax your powers of criticiſm conſiderably; ſo we had better make this ſitting a ſhort one.

CHAPTER IV.

From Cologne we went to Coblenz, Milverton readily agreeing to turn back with us, as we had come ſo far to meet him. There is, or rather was, (for when once a country has commenced making revolution, it is hazardous to ſay that anything, eſpecially anything beautiful, ſtill exiſts) a beautiful little terrace garden cloſe to the Weiſſen Roſs (the White Horſe) which overlooked the river. From thence, looking acroſs the river, you ſee the whole length of the town—the handſome façade of the Palace of Juſtice, the grave, romaneſque and ancient St. Caſtor, and further inwards, the towers of the other churches. Looking up the Rhine, you ſeem to ſee a lake; and the ſpire of Pfaffendorf riſes up on the borders of the lake, reminding you of an Engliſh village church.

Coming to this garden, after an early German dinner, we took our ſtation in a corner ſummer-houſe, and fanned by the lazy and occaſional flappings to and fro of the awning in front of us, were

in a mood to enjoy fully the loveliness of the scene around us. At last Ellesmere who, I observe, soon gets tired of the contemplation of natural objects, asked for another reading.

Milverton. We must begin at once then, as the next section is a very long one.

Ellesmere. Well, we have all the afternoon before us; and nobody can come and call upon us, or send letters to us, or molest us in any way. We have a little peace here.

Lucy. Oh, Mr. Milverton, do look. A regiment of soldiers is crossing the bridge of boats.

Milverton. How the light glancing from their bayonets, and varying with each movement, seems to be marching too. They are sturdy fellows: hark, they are singing "God save the Queen."

Dunsford. I suppose they come from Schleswig Holstein.

Ellesmere. Yes: that war is another of the precious follies of these frantic times.

Dunsford. No; I think they are going to put down some disturbance at ——; I heard that some soldiers were to be sent there.

Milverton. Well, there are very few things I have made up my mind upon, as I think I told you last year; but one of the few is, that if I were in authority, I would put down in the most swift and resolute manner anything like mob domination.

ELLESMERE. Did you ever hear my definition of a mob?

LUCY. I certainly have not, Mr. Elleſmere, ſo pray let me have it. There are ſuch things as female mobs you know.

ELLESMERE. Yes—and not the eaſieſt to deal with. Now, for my definition: a mob is a compound maſs of human beings in which each one has for the moment all the follies and evil paſſions of the reſt, in addition to his own, and his uſual common ſenſe and good feeling divided by the total number of perſons collected together.

DUNSFORD. I do not know how you arrived at theſe preciſe quantities; but I dare ſay you have your own way now, as you uſed to have at college, of making out difficult problems. But we muſt not talk any more until after the reading.

Milverton then went for his papers and ſoon returning read the following ſection of his eſſay.

5. THAT THERE ARE NO RACES IN RESPECT TO WHICH THE PRECEDING PROPOSITIONS AGAINST SLAVERY DO NOT APPLY.

THERE are many races who have been tried both as maſters and ſlaves, and been found wanting in both capacities. The Romans had ſlaves from moſt nations, and I do not know that they ſpoke

favorably of any. Amongſt the preſent maſters there is a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon race, (to ſay the leaſt of it, an active, independent, thoughtful, humane race) yet they cannot be ſaid to ſhine as ſlave-owners. And on the other hand the European ſlaves in Mooriſh countries bear the worſt of characters.*

The negro race, however, is thought by many perſons to be eſſentially different from all others, and to be peculiarly fitted for ſlavery. If this be true, it is one of the moſt important facts in human nature; if falſe, it is likely to be a ſleepleſs prejudice of the moſt pernicious kind. Either way it demands rigid enquiry.

Unhappily, the queſtion of negro fitneſs for ſlavery is not a queſtion lately mooted, but one which has been ſettled for a long time by many of thoſe who have to deal moſt with it. The opinions upon which they proceed vary much in intenſity, from the unſparing aſſertion that "the negro is a ſpecies of orang-outang,"† down to the

---

* If we look among the North African Moors, what is the ſtate of the European ſlaves? They bear a worſe character, and are inferior in value to the negroes themſelves, on account of their untruſtineſs and treachery! — *Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa*, vol. ii. p. 132.

† I was at a dinner party, where I met a planter from the

quiet aſſumption that the negroes are of ſuch an inferior capacity, that it is difficult to imagine their being able to exiſt in ſelf-governing communities. The want of ſympathy, or to ſpeak plainly, the diſguſt, ariſing from theſe opinions alſo varies much. In America it is ſcarcely too much to ſay that it has been carried to the utmoſt extravagance. There are many people, excellent, I dare ſay, in other reſpects, whoſe prejudice againſt the dark race is ſuch, that they do not like to eat with them, journey with them, have their children educated with them, ſit at any public place with them, worſhip near them, or approach the communion table in their company. Such are the ſocial diſabilities attendant upon a dark ſkin, or upon any ſhade of dark, viſible or poſſible. It need ſcarcely be added that civil diſabilities leſs hard to bear, perhaps, than ſocial ones, are found, as uſual, to accompany them.

Now is there any ground for all this excluſion and diſguſt? What is the capacity of the negro, and

---

South, who maintained or rather aſſerted, that the negro was a ſpecies of orang-outang, and ought not to be conſidered, and, conſequently, not to be treated, as belonging to the human race. His ſlaves, he added, were his property—his cattle; and he ſpoke the ſentiments of all in the South, when he declared he would draw his ſword againſt any one who ſhould dare to interfere with his rights.—*Abdy*, vol. i. p. 377.

to whom is he related? Firſt, as to his capacity.

In eſtimating the capacity of any race of men, the circumſtances in which they have been placed muſt be carefully weighed. It is the opinion of ſome of the learned, that no inſtance has been found of a ſavage people becoming civilized without extraneous help. Yet we cannot doubt that amongſt ſavage races there have been, and are, many capable of high civilization. Without ſubſcribing to the opinion of theſe learned men, I give it as an inſtance to ſhow how ſlow muſt have been the obſerved progreſs amongſt ſavages for ſuch an opinion to be tenable at all. On the other hand, ſee what a rapid change in the nature of a race, a change of circumſtances will produce. Nobody can deny that a conſiderable alteration has taken place in the nature of the white Americans (whether of Engliſh, Gallic, or Germanic origin) ſince they firſt ſettled in that country. Indeed, according to the account of a moſt intelligent traveller,* this change takes place in one

* An opinion, which travelling in this country has cauſed me to modify, is that which reſpects the permanence of national hereditary character, as tranſmitted independently of local and political circumſtances. Almoſt everybody here tells me that even in the ſecond generation (that is in the children of emigrants) it is nearly impoſſible to recogniſe a diſtinction in habits or character between thoſe of Engliſh, Scotch and Iriſh blood. They are all

or two generations. Now, many perſons would think it at leaſt as great a change as that from a white ſkin to a black one. If we did not know the origin of theſe relations of ours, the white men in America, we ſhould be ingenious to a degree in pointing out the wonderful difference which race makes; and we ſhould probably account in this way for moſt of the political and civil contraſts which the two hemiſpheres preſent.

Paſſing now to the circumſtances of the race we are conſidering,—let any men of the moſt favoured European extraction imagine what they themſelves would have become, if, from an early age, they had been treated as field negroes—driven to work in gangs, worked all day long under the fear of the laſh, driven back again and penned up at night. Amongſt men ſo treated how is the feeling of duty to ariſe; or where is the room for intellectual development? Again, take a more favourable caſe, ſuppoſe that any one of the beſt European blood had been born to domeſtic ſlavery—liable to the caprices of infant

---

American, wherever there is conſtant intercourſe with the maſs of the population, though, of courſe, not ſo where they live in diſtricts or towns, excluſively together. My own experience tends ſtrongly to confirm this remark. *Godley's Letters from America*, vol. ii. p. 166.

cruelty, cared for as a piece of furniture—the temperometer of his maſter and miſtreſs—if they are unkind, having ſcarcely any protection from their unkindneſs but their ſelf-intereſt (an undefined and miſt-like barrier, which paſſion breaks through without even ſeeing it)—the mark of ſcorn to the paſſer-by—and finding every law and cuſtom coloured differently for his race and that of his maſters—would you expect him to retain the greatneſs of his race? I do not mean to ſay that all ſlaves feel theſe things exactly as I have put them, but they are brought forward to ſhow what a man of any origin would have to contend againſt, if ſubjected to treatment ſimilar to that of the African race.

And even if we take the caſe of the free blacks in America, though it may ſurpriſe ſome perſons that they have not done more, yet we have to make immenſe allowance for the depreſſing influences to which they are ſubject. When it is aſſerted that they have done nothing in literature, ſcience, or art, we muſt recollect how little the Anglo-Americans themſelves have done in this way.* A young people have other things to do.

* Much of what they have done, however, is of high promiſe.

But as regards the blacks, it is almoſt impoſſible to eſtimate the effect of continuous contempt upon a ſenſitive and impreſſible people. Sir Charles Lyell kindly and wiſely remarks: "If "any individual be gifted with finer genius than "the reſt, his mind will be the more ſenſitive to "diſcouragement, eſpecially when it proceeds from "a race whoſe real ſuperiority over his coloured "fellow-citizens, in their preſent condition, he of "all others would be the firſt to appreciate. It is "after many trials attended with ſucceſs, and fol- "lowed by willing praiſe and applauſe, that ſelf- "confidence and intellectual power are ſlowly ac- "quired; and no well educated black has ever "yet had an opportunity of ripening or diſplaying "ſuperior talents in this or any other civilized "country. * * * * * * * * * To expect, under "ſuch a combination of depreſſing circumſtances, "that, in half a century, and in a country where "more than ſix ſevenths of the race are ſtill held "in bondage, the newly emancipated citizens "ſhould under any form of government attain "at once a poſition of real equality is a dream "of the viſionary philanthropiſt."*

* *Lyell's* Travels in North America, vol. i. p. 208.

Laſtly, even if it be found in America, or elſewhere, that the white population are very efficient in many ways in which the blacks are not; it ſtill remains to be ſeen, whether that deficiency is one which forbids ſelf-government and national exiſtence. For theſe are the queſtions. Granted for the ſake of argument that the blacks are but an imitative race, ſtill if they can imitate civilization, what claim have any of us inventive white men to prevent this beneficial imitation being carried to its utmoſt development? If there be this alleged deficiency of one kind of mental power in the African race, it is, perhaps, compenſated for; and they may poſſeſs a ſuperiority in faculties of another deſcription which might greatly ennoble and chriſtianize even the pure Caucaſian race.

We have hitherto been treating the matter in the abſtract. If we come to conſider the inſtances of proficiency which the negro race have already afforded, we have the ampleſt grounds for hopefulneſs about them. It is quite ſurpriſing that this part of their caſe ſhould have been ſo little worked out. The wittieſt of French writers ſays: "L'homme, en général, a toujours été ce qu'il "eſt: cela ne veut pas dire qu'il ait toujours eu de "belles villes, du canon de vingt-quatre livres de

" balle, des opéras comiques et des couvents de " religieuſes. Mais il a toujours eu le même in- " ſtinct, qui le porte à ſ'aimer dans ſoi-même, dans " la compagne de ſon plaiſir, dans ſes enfants, dans " ſes petits-fils, dans les œuvres de ſes mains." So, if we had but few facts to give in favour of the probability of a civilization of the negro race ſimilar to our own, we might ſtill contend for it on the general grounds of their reſemblance to other branches of the human family in the main elements of civilization. But particular facts abound. It would be difficult to ſay in what branch of human affairs negroes have not ſhown ſome power of excelling. At ſchool we find them, at any rate up to a certain age, equal to the white children. Their muſical powers are undoubted, they have invented muſical inſtruments,* their facility in acquiring languages is, in ſome inſtances, remarkable,† they preach, they act, they edite newſ-

---

* Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa, vol. 2. pp. 7, 8.

† " The negroes on the coaſt of Angola have a remarkable ta- " lent for acquiring languages, although their own idiom differs " ſo eſſentially from any with which we are acquainted, that an Eu- " ropean can but ſeldom overcome the difficulties which it preſents, " and in ſome degree maſter it. I very frequently met with negroes " who had been only four weeks on the coaſt, and who within that " incredibly ſhort time could not only underſtand Portugueſe, but

papers, they make money ſometimes, (ſurely this will tell in their favour with civilized people) they make poetry, (a folly, perhaps, but a white one) and there are inſtances of negroes excelling in abſtract ſcience.* Nay there is even ſuch a phenomenon as a black ſaint in the Calendar.†

But to form a juſt eſtimate of their powers, we muſt ſee them in their own country. To do ſo, let us ſee what is to be found in an African market, which I think my readers will agree with me in ſaying, is always one of the firſt things to be noticed in a ſtrange country. The people of the Niger expedition found "in the market-place "of Gori bags of ſalt, tobes of various colours, "country cloths, camwood in balls, iron-works,

---

"could make themſelves perfectly intelligible in it. One of the "moſt extenſive ſlave-dealers in Loanda was formerly a ſlave and "after ſhe had obtained her freedom, ſhe ſtudied the Portugueſe "language by herſelf, with ſuch diligence that ſhe not only ſpeaks "it very fluently, but even carries on her mercantile correſpon- "dence, with her own hand, in that language. In the kingdom "of Ambriz all the negroes who have intercourſe with Europeans "ſpeak Engliſh, to which many add Portugueſe, and ſome even "a tolerable knowledge of French.—*Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. "W. Africa*, vol. ii. p. 140."

* Lawrence's Lectures, pp. 430. 431. *Ed.* 1822.

† Benoît de Palermo "nigro quidem corpore ſed candore ani- "mi præclariſſimus quem et miraculis Deus conteſtatum eſſe voluit." —*Grégoire, De la Litterature des Nègres.* Paris, 1808, p. 80.

" as hoes and ſhovels, indian corn, dried buffalo's " fleſh, and dried fiſh, ground nuts, twine, ſilk, " ſeeds of various kinds, ſhéa butter, ſtraw hats " with enormous brims, platters of woods, and " calabaſhes beautifully carved."* This is not ſo uncivilized: we find too from another authority;† that the power of working iron poſſeſſed by ſome of the African tribes, is ſuch as will bear compariſon with our own.

But the extracts I am now going to give from the work of an American officer, will much more aſtoniſh thoſe who are wont to take for granted the great inferiority of the negro race.

" The native houſes here (Dixcove) are quite large; " three or four being two ſtories high, with balconies, " built of ſtone, in the Spaniſh ſtyle. They are fur- " niſhed with ſofas, bedſteads, and pictures. * * * * It

---

* Medical Hiſtory of the Niger Expedition by Dr. M'William, p. 87.

† " European ſabres are occaſionally met with, but I am free " to confeſs, that thoſe of African manufacture can compete with " them. Some of the tribes who inhabit the rich mining diſ- " tricts towards the South-Eaſt, are renowned for their weapons " and hardware. The workmanſhip of the javelins is of a very " ſuperior kind; they are, on an average, five feet in length, and " are made entirely of iron, covered from the middle to the butt- " end with long-haired goats' ſkin."—*Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa*, vol. i. p. 139.

" is intereſting to meet the natives of Africa at ſo ad-
" vanced a ſtage of refinement, yet retaining ſomewhat
" of their original habits and character, which is of courſe
" entirely loſt in the Liberian coloniſts.

" When the white man ſets his foot on the ſhores of
" Africa, he finds it neceſſary to throw off his former pre-
" judices. For my own part, I have dined at the tables
" of many coloured men in Liberia, have entertained
" them on ſhipboard, worſhipped with them at church;
" walked, rode, and aſſociated with them, as equal with
" equal, if not as friend with friend. Were I to meet
" thoſe men in my own town, and among my own rela-
" tives, I would treat them kindly and hoſpitably, as they
" have treated me. My poſition would give me confi-
" dence to do ſo. But in another city, where I might
" be known to few, ſhould I follow the dictates of my
" head and heart, and there treat theſe coloured men
" as brethren and equals, it would imply the exerciſe of
" greater moral courage than I have ever been conſcious
" of poſſeſſing." †

---

† Journal of an African Cruiſer, p. 134, *Wiley* and *Putnam*, 1845.

Another European who is converſant with the negroes in Africa, amply confirms the views of the American officer.

" The innumerable ſtories which are current, both among par-
" tial obſervers, and in books of travel, had excited in me an un-
" favourable prejudice againſt the negroes, and the few ſkulls of
" the genuine negro race (of North Guinea) which had come
" under my own obſervation, had tended to confirm it; yet a
" ſhort reſidence among them, and a careful, impartial obſervation

If, taking a deeper view of the ſubject, we conſider the moral character of the negro race generally, there is great ground to be ſanguine about them. Their cheerfulneſs is admitted: they have not been found to ſhow a want of tenderneſs in any ſocial relation: they are not an irreligious race: and, as regards their veracity, I obſerve that one of theſe travellers mentions, that though he found the negroes would uſe falſehood and artifice for their own ends, yet in general narratives they were cautious and ſcrupulous, often uſing the expreſſion "I think he be true." Now, it is not an inconſiderable progreſs in truth-telling, when people are careful to ſpeak the truth about matters which do not concern themſelves.

If our inſtances of intellectual and moral development in the negro were all taken from ſome

---

" of theſe people, ſufficed to convince me, that the ſuppoſed im-
" perfect human being was a complete man, whoſe melancholy
" ſituation and oppreſſed condition alone have ſo ſadly degraded
" him." * * * * * * * * * "We can only form a
" correct judgment of the negro, when we ſee him under his own
" native ſkies, living in peace and freedom in his little hut, and
" ſurrounded by his wife and children, and domeſtic enjoyments,
" where all his intereſts centre, where he reaps the fruits of his
" labour, and where he muſt contend for all that is dear to him."
Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa, vol. ii. pp. 130, 134.

country where ſlavery does not exiſt, it might be augured that, perhaps, there was ſome capability in the negro before he was enſlaved; but that the race could never emerge out of ſlavery. Facts however contradict any theory of this kind; for it is found in America that the free people of colour are greatly ſuperior to the ſlaves "in ap- "pearance, dreſs, manners, and intelligence."*

Again, it may be contended that all the facts adduced above are inſtances of individual merit, and that they merely ſhow excellence in what may be called domeſtic matters; that there is no proof of there being ſubſtance in the negro character to form a nation; and that we cannot imagine a negro government otherwiſe than as a moſt barbarous thing. To be ſure Touſſaint has afforded an inſtance of a great leader; and Liberia an example of an able governor, of whom we read that, "His deportment is dignified, quiet and "ſenſible, that he has been tried in war as well "as in peace, and has invariably been brave, cool, "and ſucceſsful."

It goes ſome way to make us credit the poſſibility of national exiſtence in a race, when we find amongſt them men who can govern. But a far

* *Buckingham's* America, vol. i. p. 454.

more remarkable indication of this poſſibility is to be ſeen in the hiſtory of the negroes of the Palmares, or Palm Foreſts, in the Captaincy of Pernambuco. Mr. Southey gives an account of this intereſting Republic in his hiſtory of Brazil. It exiſted for ſixty years; and was formed of the negroes who, eſcaping from ſlavery, acted upon the offenſive and attacked the Portugueſe; gaining their wives as the firſt Romans theirs. They were governed by a chief elected for life, called the Zombi; and it is ſaid by their enemies that the laws and government of this negro people were very good; and that during the whole time the ſtate was in exiſtence, there was no inſtance of political trouble of any kind.

The Pernambucans found it worth while to trade with the black republic; and, notwithſtanding it was forbidden, ſupplied them with arms, ammunition and European commodities, in exchange for their produce and booty.

At laſt the Portugueſe ſtate was obliged to beſtir itſelf againſt this black community. Caetano de Mello, the Governor, reſolved to extirpate the negroes, and ordered one of his officers, Domingos Jorge, to attack the Palmares, who marched againſt their chief ſettlement with a thouſand men.

Mr. Southey's deſcription of the place cannot well be abridged.

" A double paliſade of the hardeſt wood which " the foreſts of Brazil produce, encloſed within a " circuit of four or five miles a population of more " than 20,000 perſons. The fortification was " ſtrengthened by many bulwarks: there were " only three gates, which were placed at equal " diſtances; each had its platform of defence, and " was at all times under the charge of one of their " beſt officers. The palace of the Zombi was " ſpacious, and not without a kind of rude mag- " nificence; and the houſes of individuals were, " after their faſhion, commodious and ſplendid. " There was a lake within the circuit, abounding " with fiſh, and there were alſo running ſtreams, " . . . but the water ſeems to have been brackiſh " or ſalt, for the inhabitants ſunk wells, or rather " thoſe ſhallow pits that are called *cacimbas*, which " implies that it was only rendered potable by " filtration. There was alſo a high rock within " the encloſure, which ſerved them for a watch- " poſt, and from whence ſome of the Pernambu- " can towns and ſettlements were viſible in the " diſtance. Beſides this, their chief city, they had " many ſmaller ſettlements, or garriſons, called

" *Mocambos*, in which choſen men were ſtationed " for the defence of the plantations."

Domingos Jorge pitched his camp before the town. The negroes unexpectedly made a ſally, and " Eight hundred perſons on both ſides were " killed and wounded." The Portugueſe commander then thought it beſt to go back again to Porto Calvo and make a junction with a large body of troops which was waiting for him there. The ſiege was renewed by an army of ſix thouſand Portugueſe under another commander, Bernardo Vieira de Mello. An eſcalade was attempted, which was repelled by the negroes with arrows, boiling water, fire arms and fire brands. The powder of the negroes was at laſt exhauſted. The Portugueſe, however, were ſtill ſucceſsfully reſiſted: and they were obliged to ſend for reinforcements and cannon. Both ſides were now in want of proviſions: the negroes in want of miſſiles alſo. At laſt from the watch-tower they beheld large convoys of cattle, laden horſes and carts, coming to the beſiegers' camp. Upon this, the enfamiſhed men loſt their ſpirit, the gates were forced, and the Zombi with the moſt reſolute of his followers threw themſelves headlong from the precipice. The ſurvivors were enſlaved.

Theſe men wanted but a poet. Their fate would make an epic, ſhowing anything but negro incapacity.

There is one aſpect of the Negro faculties and character, which, for want of materials, has ſeldom been preſented to us; and that is, the aſpect which they preſented to the firſt diſcoverers of their land. In another work I have given ſome account of theſe diſcoveries: and the circumſtance which ſtruck me moſt in conſidering the narrative was the reſpect with which the new race of men was regarded by the old, on their firſt great meeting ſince the introduction of Chriſtianity. I do not recollect one inſtance of abuſive or depreciatory language in the contemporary accounts or in thoſe of the earlieſt hiſtorians. The only diſtinction which the foremoſt man in modern geographical diſcovery, Prince Henry of Portugal, ſeems to have made between the negroes and any other race was a religious one. In ſending out one of his Captains he tells him, that "if he ſhould not be able to obtain "ſo many negroes (as had been mentioned) in "exchange for the three Moors, yet that he ſhould "take them; for whatever number he ſhould "get, he would gain ſouls, becauſe they (the

" negroes) might be converted to the faith, which " could not be managed with the Moors."*

Inſtances of negro bravery, of negro ſagacity, and of ſome conſiderable knowledge of the arts of life occur in this narrative; and if we take the very firſt account we have of the religious ceremonies and opinions at a negro court, we ſhall not find it ſuch as to give us a mean idea of the development of the negro mind in that reſpect, and it may contraſt favourably with the religious rites of many ſavage nations.

It is to be found in the travels of Ca da Moſto, a young Venetian who viſited Africa, under Prince Henry's orders, about the middle of the fifteenth century. " Budomel"† (the king of a territory in or near the preſent Foulah) " behaved with " great complaiſance to Ca da Moſto, and carried " him into the Moſque; for, towards evening, he " ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he al- " ways has about him, to ſay prayers. His man- " ner was thus:—Being entered into the Moſque, " (which was in one of the courts) with ſome of

* " Conquerors of the New World," vol. i. p. 28. *Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7.

† " The Conquerors of the New World," vol. i. p. 52. " *Aſtley's* Voyages," vol. i. p. 584.

" the principal negroes, he firſt ſtood with his eyes
" lifted up, then he advanced two ſteps, and ſpoke
" a few words ſoftly; after which, he ſtretched
" himſelf on the ground and kiſſed it. The Aza-
" naghi, and all the reſt, did the ſame. Then
" riſing, he repeated the ſame acts over again, ten
" or twelve times, which took up half an hour.
" When he had done, he aſked the author's opi-
" nion of their manner of worſhip; and to give
" him ſome account of his own religion. Here-
" upon Ca da Moſto told him in preſence of his
" doctors, that the religion of Mohammed was
" falſe; and the Romiſh, the true one. This
" made the Arabs mad, and Budomel laugh;
" who, on this occaſion, ſaid that he looked upon
" the religion of the Europeans to be good: for
" that none but God could have given them ſo
" much riches and underſtanding. He added,
" however, that the Mohammedan Law muſt be
" alſo good; and that he believed the negroes
" were more ſure of ſalvation than the Chriſtians,
" becauſe God was a juſt Lord; and therefore, as
" he had given the latter Paradiſe in this world,
" it ought to be poſſeſſed in the world to come
" by the negroes, who had ſcarce anything here,
" in compariſon of the others. In all his diſcourſe

" he ſhowed a good underſtanding, and took great " pleaſure in hearing the cuſtoms of the Chriſtians. " Ca da Moſto believed he might eaſily have been " converted, were it not for fear of loſing his eſ- " tate ; for his nephew, in whoſe houſe he lodged, " often told him ſo ; and took great delight him- " ſelf in hearing the author talk of his religion."

A ſtriking indication of the favourable aſpect which the negroes preſented to their firſt conquerors and maſters is to be found in the account of Bemoin, one of the Princes of the blood royal
1487. of Jalof, who came to Liſbon to ſeek ſuccour from the King of Portugal in conſequence of ſome inteſtine diviſions in the country of Jalof. I take the very words of the Hiſtorian. " Bemoin, be- " cauſe he was a man of large ſize and fine pre- " ſence, about forty years old, with a long and " well-arranged beard, appeared indeed not like " a barbarous pagan, but as one of our own " princes, to whom all honour and reverence were " due: with like majeſty and gravity of demea- " nour he commenced and finiſhed his oration, " with ſuch inducements to make men bewail his " ſad fortune in exile, that only ſeeing theſe na- " tural ſigns of ſorrow, people comprehended what " the interpreter afterwards ſaid. And having

" finiſhed the ſtatement of his caſe as a good ora-
" tor would, in declaring that his only remedy
" and only hope was in the greatneſs and gene-
" roſity of the king, with whom he ſpoke aſide
" for a ſhort time, he was anſwered by the king
" in few words, ſo much to his ſatisfaction that
" immediately it made a change in his whole look,
" ſpirits, and bearing, rendering him moſt joyous.
" And taking leave of the king, he went to kiſs
" the queen's hand, and then that of the prince
" to whom he ſaid a few words, at the end of
" which he prayed the prince that he would in-
" tercede in his favour with the king. And
" thence he was conducted to his lodgings by all
" the nobility that accompanied him."*

Portugal was at that time one of the moſt important countries in Europe, and the Portugueſe amongſt the moſt accompliſhed people. From many other facts and conſiderations which have reference to the Spaniſh as well as the Portugueſe, I have no doubt that the firſt impreſſion produced by the negroes on the Europeans of the 15th century, was very diſſimilar to that which has

* *Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 6. "The Conquerors of the New World," vol. i. p. 70.

ſince grown up in the minds of their deſcendants.

We need not proceed further with inſtances of negroes excelling in matters bearing an affinity to European civilization. My object is not to prove that the Negro may become equal and alike to the Caucaſian. On the contrary I am inclined to think that there are conſiderable differences in kind, pointing to different developments: nor, for my own part, ſhould I particularly deſire that the faculties of any race, even our own Anglo-Saxon one, ſhould abſorb the work of the world. The ſcheme of the world is very large: and, as it has been quaintly ſaid, "it takes a many to make a "world." The Caucaſian may be a nobly-developed creature; but there may be work to be done by another variety of the human ſpecies. The advocates of ſlavery may think that this is an admiſſion tending to their views. It may be allowed that there is peculiar phyſical work to be done by the negro race; certain parts of the earth, therefore, particularly adapted for their reſidence; which, indeed, may be ſo conſtituted as perpetually to remind other races that they are intruders in thoſe quarters: but I mean that there may be

certain ideas to be fulfilled by this race, certain gifts and certain modes of character to be moſt largely developed by them; and certain relations to be fulfilled by them towards other races—not the relation of ſlavery though. It may be the happieſt privilege of the Caucaſians, when really highly developed, to lead their dark-hued brethren to the arts and wiſdom fitted for them. That may be one of their eſpecial works in the great human family. Look everywhere how creation is developed by the complex interweaving of various gifts, natures and attainments. In ſtates, where what we call civilization has long made its appearance, it ſeems hard, very hard, that for generations the lower claſs ſhould have been ſo little mentally developed; yet from that ſtock of unwrought mind has often come the ſupply of faculty which has enriched the greateſt minds; and ſo, perhaps, the ſpecies may make greater gain in this way than had a more equable development taken place all over ſociety. In the end, too, more human beings may thus be made more of. There is the ſame thing probably in the inter-communication of nations, which may go on ſlowly for generations, individual nationalities having thus room to grow up, and wiſe purpoſes

being effected from the human mind not being in the ſame ſtate of progreſs all the world over. There is a ſimilar thing again to be obſerved, I think, in the individual mind. Had it been our buſineſs to arrange the faculties of men, how much more level and conſiſtent we ſhould have made them. Into this fierce and paſſionate nature we ſhould not have put tenderneſs, and, ſtrange to ſay, judgment: into that character, in other reſpects ſo great, how could we have permitted a fearful influx of vanity, for ever to derange and mortify its greatneſs. Had we the ordering of things, there would be no "fears of the brave and "follies of the wiſe!"—a man doing the laſt thing that he would deliberately wiſh to do, contradicting the reſt of himſelf as much as he contradicts truth and wiſdom. Yet from this confuſion, deplorable as it may appear to us, the ſoul of man comes out informed by miſery and ſtrengthened by ſharp conteſt.

A ſimilar claſs of obſervations, which I need not do more than indicate the exiſtence of, may be applied to the arrangement of ſoils and the peopling of countries in the phyſical world. And, in fine, what I mean to ſuggeſt is, that abſence of cultivation does not argue radical inferiority; that

the perfection of our Caucasian race, or such perfection as that most readily admits of, may not be the whole of the divine scheme respecting the inhabitants of this earth: and, moreover, that our development might lack its greatest use and ornament, if we were not led by it to take our darker brother by the hand and show him whatever we have learnt of wisdom and of virtue.

Having shown what things the negro race are capable of, both individually and nationally, it might be thought superfluous to enter into any question respecting the origin and nature of that race. But the hasty conclusions which have been come to upon questions of this kind are at the bottom of so much intolerance, that it is amply worth while to look into them a little for ourselves. Jeremy Taylor used to say, on seeing some bad man pass by, "there goes my wicked "self," so distinctly did that noble tolerant man appreciate the close moral relationship between himself and a very erring brother. That feeling towards another which leads one to think, "it is "possible I might be such as he:" "he is of the "same kind as I am," is a never-failing source of charity. Did we think, for instance, when we saw a black slave pass, "there goes my ill-used self,"

diſguſt and intolerance at his preſent degraded condition would give way to the deepeſt ſympathy. Something of the unwearied tenderneſs which men have even for the faults of their children, their own fleſh and blood as they call them, might ſurely extend to the misfortunes of their diſtant kindred. "Am I not a man and a brother?" is a phraſe that from ludicrous aſſociations is wont to provoke our laughter; but there is a force in that appeal which ridicule will not do away with.

Now, in what ſenſe are the negroes our brethren? An inquiry into the origin and character of nations requires a knowledge which few poſſeſs, of living men, of hiſtory, languages, geography, anatomy and general phyſiology. We muſt, therefore, not be ſurpriſed at many perſons holding fixed opinions upon theſe matters, as they would upon the niceſt points of divinity, with very inſufficient knowledge to rely upon. Neither muſt we be ſurpriſed that thoſe opinions ſhould obey the firſt impreſſions of the ſenſes, as all firſt thoughts have done. Common ſenſe (as it is moſtly interpreted) tells us that things which burn us muſt be hot themſelves; men were thouſands of years before they ſuſpected the contrary: ſuch common ſenſe alſo tells us that there muſt be ſome

eſſential difference between the negroes and ourſelves. In anſwer to this opinion reſulting from firſt impreſſions, I quote the following paſſage from the work of an eminent phyſiologiſt.

" In features, as in colour, the different races are con-
" nected to each other by the moſt gentle gradations;
" ſo that, although any two extremes, when contraſted,
" appear ſtrikingly different, they are joined by numerous
" intermediate and very ſlightly differing degrees; and
" no formation is exhibited ſo conſtantly in all the indi-
" viduals of one race, as not to admit of numerous ex-
" ceptions.

" We ſee, indeed, an aſtoniſhing difference when we
" place an ugly Negro (for there are ſuch as well as ugly
" Europeans) againſt a ſpecimen of the Grecian ideal
" model; but, when we trace the intermediate grada-
" tions, the ſtriking diverſity vaniſhes. 'Of the Negroes
" of both ſexes,' ſays Blumenbach, 'whom I have at-
" tentively examined, in very conſiderable number, as
" well as in the portraits and profiles of others, and in
" the numerous Negro crania, which I poſſeſs or have
" ſeen, there are not two completely reſembling each
" other in their formation: they paſs, by inſenſible gra-
" dations, into the forms of the other races, and approach
" to the other varieties even in their moſt pleaſing mo-
" difications. A creole whom I ſaw at Yverdun, born
" of parents from Congo, and brought from St. Domingo
" by the Chevalier Treytorrens, had a countenance, of

" which no part, not even the noſe, and rather ſtrongly " marked lips, were very ſtriking, much leſs diſpleaſing; " the ſame features with an European complexion would " certainly have been generally agreeable.' The teſtimony " of Le Maire, in his journey to Senegal and Gambia, " is to the ſame effect; and there are Negreſſes, except " in colour, as handſome as European women. Vaillant " ſays of the Caffre women, that ſetting aſide the preju- " dice which operates againſt their colour, many might " be accounted handſome, even in an European coun- " try. The accurate Adanſon confirms this ſtatement, " in his deſcription of the Senegambians. The women " are equally well made with the men. Their ſkin is of " the fineſt texture, and extremely ſoft. The eyes are " black and large: the mouth and lips ſmall; and all " the features well proportioned; ſeveral are perfectly " beautiful. They have much vivacity; and an eaſy " air, which is very pleaſing.

" The Jaloffs, according to Mungo Park, have not " the protuberant lip nor flat noſe of the African counte- " nance. We have alſo the teſtimony of another tra- " veller concerning this tribe, to the ſame effect: accord- " ing to Moore, they have handſome features, and neither " broad noſes nor thick lips. Pigafetta ſtates, that the " Congo Negroes have not the thick lips of the Nubians, " and that, except in colour, they are very like the Por- " tugueſe. Dampier, in his account of Natal, deſcribes " the natives as having curled hair, but a long face, well " proportioned noſe, and agreeable countenance. The " ſix Negro crania engraved in the two firſt decades of

" Blumenbach, exhibit very clearly this diverſity of cha-
" racter in the African race : and prove, moſt unequi-
" vocally, that the variety among individuals is certainly
" not leſs, but greater, than the difference between ſome
" of them and many Europeans." *

But objectors will ſay " we have always heard
" that there are eſſential differences of nature be-
" tween the black and the white races, not to be
" got over by the above mentioned vague reſem-
" blances to Europeans in certain negroes, or even
" in certain tribes of negroes." This is the very part of the caſe on which I hope to ſhow that the opponents of Slavery may challenge enquiry rather than avoid it.

There is ſcarcely a more curious and inſtructive chapter in the whole hiſtory of ſcientific reſearch, than that connected with the inveſtigation of the negro nature. The firſt thoughts of ſcience, like the popular theories, were all on the narrow and excluſive ſide of the queſtion. There were very elaborate reſearches which went to prove that in the dark race there was a membrane between the outer cuticle and the cutis, which is entirely wanting in white men. Here then was a valid diſtinction of ſpecies. Some German anatomiſts, however, in their ſolid manner, made a more elaborate

* *Lawrence's* Lectures, pp. 283, 284.

inveſtigation into the nature of the ſkin, and diſcovered that it does not conſiſt of continuous membranes at all, but that it is of cellular ſtructure throughout. There are certain "pigment-cells," as they are called, which produce the abnormal diſcolorations ſometimes ſeen in white men and women, and the normal colorations in negroes. In few words, therefore, the ſkin barrier is broken down: there is the poſſibility of negrohood in the fineſt Caucaſian integument.

Ruſſia leather may, perhaps, be entitled to look down upon ſimple calf: but a white ſkin had better be content with its difference to the eye and not endeavour to arrogate to itſelf any generic difference whatever.

Again with reſpect to negro hair. The epithet "Woolly" has been applied to it from the time of Herodotus, but this is a mere metaphor. When ſeen by the microſcope, wool is ſerrated: hair is ſmooth and cylindrical. The hair of negroes, when ſubjected to careful microſcopic examination, was found to be cylindrical and ſmooth as that of a European. The difference was only in colour and in criſpation; ſo that no difference of ſpecies can be raiſed upon the woollineſs of negro hair.*

* *Prichard's* Natural Hiſtory of Man.

The hiſtory of the facial angle is ſimilar to that of the black ſkin. Camper, the firſt inventor of the mode of appreciating crania by the facial angle, found in the head of the ſtatue of Apollo an angle of 100 degrees, in the Caucaſian head an angle of 80 degrees, in the negro head an angle of 70 degrees, and in one of the Simiæ moſt neighbouring to man's nature, an angle of 50 degrees.* The difference between the Caucaſian and theſe unpleaſantly ſimilar apes being but 30 degrees, the difference between the negro and the Caucaſian of 10 degrees, was a ſerious difference. Profeſſor Owen, however, diſcovered that theſe calculations had been made from the crania of young apes, which had led to an entirely wrong concluſion. He found that the facial angle of the *adult* troglodyte is only 35 degrees, of the orang 30 degrees. The difference between the Caucaſian angle and the ape angle being now found to be 45 or 50 degrees, the 10 degrees of difference between the negro and the Caucaſian become conſiderably leſs ſignificant.

A ſimilar ſtory may be told of the progreſs of ſcientific reſearch into the poſition of the great occipital foramen, the form of the pelvis and the

* *Prichard's* Natural Hiſtory of Man, p. 112.

length of the fore-arm.* In all theſe caſes ſcience has had upon maturer thought, to recall, or to modify, its firſt unfavourable impreſſions againſt the negro. Probably, in our eſtimation of the moral and mental capability of the race a like progreſs will have to be noted: charity and kindlineſs are incidentally, as well as directly, the growth of thought and intellectual labour.

Without further fatiguing my readers by a long enumeration of phyſiological arguments, I will merely give them the reſult, as it appears to me, of what I have ſeen on the ſubject. The arguments of phyſiologiſts have gone far to prove, I think, that men are all of one ſpecies. Some of the beſt authorities are agreed upon this. Where they differ is, as to the cauſes of the varieties of that ſpecies. Some would be inclined to attribute much to the influence of climate. Others would ſay that the cauſes ordinarily given to account for the varieties of the human ſpecies — ſuch as climate, diet, mode of life, &c. are no cauſes whatever; and that the differences of organization, and of qualities which characterize the ſeveral races of our ſpecies, are "analogous

* *Prichard's* Natural Hiſtory of Man, pp. 117, 126, 129.

"in kind and degree to thoſe which diſtinguiſh "the breeds of the domeſtic animals." If a black man comes to a cold climate, he and his deſcendants do not, on that account, loſe one atom of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of their race. If an Engliſh ſheep go to Jamaica, it and its offſpring would, I believe, keep the heavy fleece which is ſuppoſed to be more congenial to our cold climate. The lecturer quoted above concludes that domeſtication has made thoſe changes in men and animals which we call, in the former, a variety of races; in the latter, a variety of breeds. If we accept this view of the matter, what ſhall we ſay that there is in this thing, domeſtication, beyond change of food, climate, way of life, and the various phyſical circumſtances which the ſame writer has ſhown in detail to have no effect in altering a race, however much they may affect an individual? I ſuſpect the anſwer to be this, that only thoſe changes in phyſical circumſtances which have an effect upon the mind, ſo to ſpeak, of the animal have an effect upon the race. This theory ſeems capable of reconciling the oppoſite facts and concluſions that have been adduced by ſcientific men on this ſubject. As long as it can be ſaid of

* *Lawrence's* Lectures, p. 473.

men or animals "*Cælum non animum mutant*" ſo long the race is unaltered. But let phyſical or moral circumſtances be ſo altered as to call out, or to repreſs, or to call out in one direction, the energies of the animal, and a change in the breed may be expected. Change of mind is the cauſe of change of phyſical ſtructure in the race. This hypotheſis need not ſurpriſe us. Every day we are becoming more enlightened as to the power of mind upon body. Formerly we were more inclined to dwell on the inverſe operation. Conſider the alteration of ſtructure in the heads of individual men. Look at the head of Auguſtus when young; and then at it after the weight of empire had reſted upon it. What a change there is! And we may notice a ſimilar change, I do not doubt, in the caſe of living men.

I do not build any important part of my argument in behalf of the negroes on this theory, or on any theory. But if we muſt have a theory about the origin of the varieties of race in the human ſpecies, I would rather ſay that they have been cauſed by mental operations. If negroes are a degenerate race, cultivation of mind may reclaim them; if, as is at leaſt equally probable, they are not degenerate but different, ſtill culti-

vation is neceſſary to develope this ſpecies to the higheſt, when it may take its place, though not in the ſame ranks, yet ſide by ſide with the Caucaſian variety. Again I ſay theſe are but theories: but as our theories often interfere with our charity, it is well in this inſtance to ſee whether there may not be ſome theory which at leaſt may throw no diſcouragement on our efforts for this hitherto ill-ſtarred race of men.

Some people may think it very abſurd to talk of mental operations as the chief means of creating the difference of races. "What has mind "to do with black and white?" they will exclaim. But darkneſs of ſkin is one of the leaſt important of the points of outward difference between the white and dark races. The main queſtion is as to the difference of cerebral formation. After reading the following extract my readers will feel how little there is in mere darkneſs of hue.

"Two nations of Calla or Blacks, very different in "phyſical character and ſocial condition from each other, "are now found in the country of ancient Ethiopia; the "Shankalli, or the true negro, and the Dankalli, who "belong decidedly to the Circaſſian variety of mankind, "poſſeſſing round ſkulls, high full foreheads; the poſi-"tion of the eyes rectilinear; the noſe, the mouth and

" form of countenance being in every reſpect concordant " with the characters aſſigned to that type of the human " race, excepting their colour, which was a dark brown, " or ſometimes quite black. Their hair, which is much " frizzled and worn very full, is a ſavage caricature of a " barriſter's wig. I could perceive no other difference " in features or in the form of the head between our- " ſelves and ſeveral individuals of this people; indeed, " there was often ſuch a ſtriking reſemblance between " them and ſome of my European acquaintances, that it " was not unuſual for me to diſtinguiſh them by beſtow- " ing the names of ſome of my far diſtant friends upon " their Dankalli counterparts." *

The way in which this intelligent traveller conveys to us the facial likeneſs of the Dankalli to the Circaſſian variety is irreſiſtibly convincing from its naturalneſs. He finds, on ſeeing more of theſe Dankalli, that their abilities fully juſtified their phyſiognomy; he ſees reaſon to rate them much higher than the Arabs: and finally concludes that the Dankalli are " the remains of " a once great and powerful people." The impreſſion produced on this traveller goes to ſhow how little mere colour has to do with inferiority of nature.

* See *Johnſton's* Travels in Southern Abyſſinia, vol. i. p. 15.

I ſhall continue to avail myſelf of the obſervations of this traveller, as they afford a good opportunity of noticing how the ſubject widens when carefully conſidered, and of ſeeing how raſh any harſh concluſion againſt the capacity of the negro race would be.

After living amongſt theſe different races of negroes, the traveller in queſtion comes to a concluſion which, as we have ſeen, certain ſcientific men at home have alſo come to, in favour of "the "original unity of nations." This is important, for there are impreſſions and obſervations which eſcape ſcientific deſcription or indeed narrative of any kind; and if we found that all travellers were convinced that negroes were not from the ſame ſtock as ourſelves, ſcientific men would have a much harder taſk to convince us of its poſſibility. But, to continue with this traveller's obſervations.

"From what I have obſerved myſelf, the Dankalli, "the Shankalli, and the Buſhmen are the loweſt grades "of the three varieties of the human race—the Arian "or Circaſſian, the Amhara, or negro, and the Gonga "or Mongolian, all of whom have a height of civiliza- "tion, and a depth of barbariſm diſtinct from each other; "and that, however the Buſhman may be improved,

" he will only become a civilized Chineſe, and that a " Negro may by education be made an ancient Egyptian " but would never by that alone become the enlightened " Circaſſian that his neighbour, the Dankalli would, " certainly, be made."*

This may ſeem to militate againſt his former opinion in favour of the original unity of nations. But, though they may have been originally from one ſtock, that does not prove that they can be brought back to ſuch unity. Not that I ſee why anybody ſhould place theſe abrupt ſtops; and I am inclined to think it probable that if we had ſeen only the beſt ſpecimens of Chineſe, Egyptian and Circaſſian varieties, we ſhould, after much obſervation, conclude that theſe three varieties might all be brought by cultivation to one race—at leaſt in the main features of intellectual and moral development. For my own part I am content, ſeeing how much we owe to Egypt, to leave the negroes linked to the poſſibility of Egyptian civilization. But, perhaps, the larger ground we leave for ourſelves in this matter, the better. The opinions of Sir Charles Lyell, in reference to the ancient Mexican civilization, bear

* See *Johnſton's* Travels in Southern Abyſſinia, vol. ii. p. 446.

cloſely upon this ſubject, and are at once ſafe and charitable. Putting aſide for the moment their other attainments, which were very great, he dwells upon their advance in aſtronomical knowledge; their calendar, for inſtance, at the time of the conqueſt being more correct than that of their conquerors, or indeed of the European community.

"If, then," he ſays, "a large continent can be "inhabited by hundreds of tribes, all belonging "to the ſame race, and nearly all remaining for "centuries in a ſtate of apparently hopeleſs bar-"bariſm, while two or three of them make a "ſtart in their ſocial condition, and in the arts "and ſciences; if theſe ſame nations when "brought into contact with Europeans, relapſe "and retrograde until they are ſcarcely diſtin-"guiſhable in intellectual rank from the rude "hunter tribes deſcended from a common ſtock; "what caution ought we not to obſerve when "ſpeculating on the inherent capacities of any "other great member of the human family. The "negro, for example, may have remained ſta-"tionary in all hitherto explored parts of the "African continent, and may even have become "more barbarous when brought within the in-

" fluence of the white man, and yet may poſſeſs " within his boſom the germ of a civilization as " active and refined as that of the golden age of " Tezcuco."*

It has now been ſhown that the negroes as individuals have done worthy things; that they are capable of national development; and that we muſt not lightly conclude that they are an eſſentially different race to ourſelves. But all this is much more than there is occaſion to prove for the preſent argument. Even if it were granted that the negro race is not capable of anything like what we call high civilization, is that a ſufficient reaſon for the creation, or continuation, of Slavery? *Will anybody contend that his ſtate, as a ſlave, is the higheſt of which the negro is capable?* A French magiſtrate of St. Domingo ſpeaking of the blacks, in 1770, uſes theſe words: " Il exiſte " parmi nous une claſſe naturellement notre en- " nemie, et qui porte encore ſur ſon front l'em- " preinte de l'eſclavage; ce n'eſt que par des lois " de rigueur qu'elle doit être conduite. Il eſt " néceſſaire d'appeſantir ſur elle le mépris et " l'opprobre qui lui eſt dévolu en naiſſant. Ce

* See *Lyell's* Travels in North America, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

" n'eſt qu'en briſant les reſſorts de leur âme " qu'on pourra les conduire au bien."*

This is open language: it is to anſwer ſuch ideas (which, happily, are much leſs frequent now) and leſs monſtrous modifications of them, that I have endeavoured to ſhow that there is no race, (and that there never has been any) whom ſlavery becomes.

At the ſame time that we are called upon to aſſert the juſt claims of the negro race, we muſt look with ſome tenderneſs upon the feelings of their Anglo-American maſters and neighbours. It is very well for us to ridicule, or denounce, the diſlike of white men to black men. We ſee the latter now and then: ſome of us have rather a prejudice in favour of theſe " images of God cut in " ebony," (which, by the way, ſeems to ſhow that there is no immediate natural diſlike towards the race) but if they ſwarmed among us we might be of a different opinion. The way to look at the matter fairly for America, is not to compare our ſane ſtate with their unſound one on this ſubject, but to take us both when in a ſtate of ſimilar

* See *Abdy*, vol. i. p. 345.

prejudice. Conſider the wild fear of Engliſhmen in Charles the Second's time leſt a few Papiſts ſhould burn or murder the reſt of the nation. Or take another inſtance leſs remote from the American prejudices we are combating—namely, the general diſlike of Engliſhmen to Scotchmen, when Lord Bute was Miniſter. Of courſe this is not to be compared to the Anglo-American averſion to the African race. But it may ſerve to ſhow how far and how deep an unreaſonable prejudice againſt a nation may extend.

Without flinching in the leaſt from our opinion of the nature of the prejudice in America againſt the blacks; holding it to be irrational, unfounded, and unchriſtian, ſtill we cannot treat it as if it were an eaſy matter to get rid of—an evil which, by mere ſtatement of its wrongneſs, could at once be put down. It pervades large portions of the American people, aſſuming different forms. In this ſtate it appears as jealous diſlike; in that, as contempt and fear. Under ſuch malign influences, ſtrange laws and cruel practices are ſcarcely to be wondered at. All thoughtful men muſt pity the white Americans with this awful queſtion of ſlavery before them, threatening civil feuds and favouring foreign attack; doing hourly miſchief

to the character of many a ſlave-owner; and hindering the poor free man from gaining his bread in ways which are no ſhame to him. It may ſurely be ſaid that this is a race which has not gained anything by becoming owners of ſlaves.

We have, in America one of the greateſt races as maſters: one of thoſe which are conſidered loweſt, as ſlaves. It has been ſhown that neither race makes the moſt of itſelf by the relation which it holds to the other: and we may fairly conclude with the aſſertion—that there are no races to which the preceding arguments againſt ſlavery do not apply.

ELLESMERE. I delight in queſtions about the races of men, and in getting at the different ſtrata of nations. Human geology!

DUNSFORD. Philology is very important in theſe queſtions.

ELLESMERE. No knowledge comes amiſs to them.

MILVERTON. In ſpeaking of the character of a nation, it is impoſſible to ſay what comes from the education

and laws that have acted on the people and their anceſtors, and what comes from race. At any rate it is moſt unphiloſophical to attribute all that we ſee in national character to one cauſe, and then, perhaps, having reſolved that race is the cauſe, to talk deſpondingly about national improvement. I have no doubt that, before Father Mathew's triumphs, you would have heard intemperance ſet down as a thing belonging to the Iriſh race, and would have been told that the Celtic nature could not break itſelf of any bad habit. But human nature is a thing to which we at leaſt can put no limits, and which requires to be treated with unbounded hopefulneſs: only do not let us think that this hopefulneſs is for white and not for black nature.

DUNSFORD. You remember —— and —— at College. They had a good ſprinkling of negro blood. Well one of them was very clever, and both of them very good fellows—gave me very little trouble, which, by the way, cannot be ſaid of either of you.

MILVERTON. I hope you noticed that I was very careful not to place the ſtrength of my caſe upon any hypotheſis about race. Not that I have any fear of inveſtigation into that ſubject. On the contrary my fear is leſt there ſhould not be ſufficient inveſtigation. All knowledge tends to further humanity, enabling us to go ſome way in detecting the grand laws of the univerſe. It would ſeem but little leſs than blaſphemy to me to ſuppoſe that ſlavery was otherwiſe than an invention of man which will be fully found out and reproved in time.

Mental ſcience tends to tolerance, phyſical ſcience to active kindneſs and the well-being of men. We gradually find out that crime is a blunder, and cruelty a miſtake.

ELLESMERE. Stop, ſtop; are we not getting on rather quickly to theories of perfectibility and the like?

MILVERTON. No. As long as men are men, and the earth anything like what we ſee at preſent, there will be trials enough to exerciſe and develope the greateſt men; but ſurely it is not irrational to hope that the life of man may be leſs and leſs "ſhort, naſty, violent and "brutiſh," as Hobbes would ſay. I cannot but think that this is one of the leſſer meanings of the words "thy kingdom come."

DUNSFORD. I quite agree with you.

MILVERTON. But I muſt ſay again, I am not bound down by theories of any kind about race. I only ſay that the exiſting ſtate of ſlavery is ſuch as to leave no juſt room for ſelf-development, and is not conſiſtent with the ineffaceable diſtinction between things and perſons. I think that Monteſquieu is thoroughly right, when he ſays that ſlavery is a one-ſided inſtitution, a thing fundamentally wrong.*

---

* This is the paſſage, I imagine that Milverton alludes to: "Ce "qui fait que la mort d'un criminel eſt une choſe licite, c'eſt que la "loi qui le punit a été faite en ſa faveur. Un meurtrier, par exem-"ple, a joui de la loi qui le condamne; elle lui a conſervé la vie à "tous les inſtants: il ne peut donc pas réclamer contre elle. Il

ELLESMERE. But advocates for ſlavery would ſay that the preſervation of the negroes themſelves enters into their (the advocates') view of the caſe, and ſo they recognize the perſonality of the ſlave, and take away the one-ſidedneſs you complain of ſo. I do not agree with them in the leaſt, but that is what they would ſay.

MILVERTON. They cannot ſay ſo, without turning their backs upon all the facts of the caſe. The negroes when enfranchiſed may not live exactly in the way that ſuits the fancy of theſe theoriſts, but they will live—aye, and thrive too.

ELLESMERE. You talk of the neceſſity of allowing human beings room for ſelf-development — what is there allowed in that way to our free peaſants?

MILVERTON. You are only trying me. Talk with a peaſant: you will not find, perhaps, the exact development that comes by books; but you will often perceive that the ſoul of that man has gone through conſiderable education. His has not been mere paſſive ſuffering, like that of an animal; but he has ſtruggled and refrained, and gained both delights and miſeries for himſelf. In the war of life he has been a ſoldier, while the other was but an animal carrying, under many blows, the camp baggage.

"n'en eſt pas de même de l'eſclave; la loi de l'eſclavage n'a jamais "pu lui être utile; elle eſt dans tous les cas contre lui, ſans jamais "être pour lui; ce qui eſt contraire au principe fondamental de "toutes les ſociétés." *Monteſquieu, de l'Eſprit des Lois*, liv. 15. chap. 2.

Lucy. I wiſh, Mr. Elleſmere, you would come and live for a little time in the country, and then you might learn to underſtand us a little.

Ellesmere. You had better at once wiſh all you can againſt me, Miſs Daylmer; and ſay, as the witty Duke of Buckingham did to the dog that bit him, "I "wiſh you were married, and went to live in the "country." Is not that a good ſtory, Milverton? One feels how Charles the ſecond muſt have liked the Duke's ſociety.

Dunsford. Do not interrupt us with your jokes, Elleſmere. I was going to ſay that I was greatly ſtruck by that paſſage you quoted, Milverton, from ſome man about certain Dankalli or Shankalli who were complete likeneſſes in ebony of ſome of his friends. Imagine black Elleſmeres and Milvertons.

Milverton. I think I hear a black Elleſmere making an elaborate ſpeech to a grave ſquatting circle of us about the veſted rights of ſome minors in certain ſcalps.

Ellesmere. Both you and I, Milverton, are very like ſavages in one thing—our love of animals. And that reminds me to tell you, that I was thinking during the eſſay, it would not be beneath or beſide your purpoſe to ſhow the difference produced in the diſpoſition of animals by treatment. Now horſes, for inſtance,—they often ſee nothing but the worſt ſociety amongſt men; and are ſhamefully treated into the bargain.

Milverton. Yes, it often occurs to me, in going along the ſtreets, how few men can be truſted with the whip even for animals.

ELLESMERE. And if we were arguing about races, and had only ſeen ill-treated horſes, how unjuſt would be our notion even of a horſe's capacity and nature. We ſhould think the degree of tameneſs and obedience which we ourſelves have ſeen, Utopian; and as to the idea of there being in the horſe what the Arab finds in it, we ſhould pronounce that to be a wild imagination.

DUNSFORD. We have much to anſwer for in our treatment of animals.

MILVERTON. A great deal of it is mere ignorance. What we were agreed upon, as regards the phyſical education of children a good many eſſays ago, would apply to theſe poor animals. They want more light and air, and I ſhould ſay more freedom in their ſtables, gentle uſage, little work when young, and not to be much jerked about or to be pulled up ſuddenly, or to have ſevere bearing reins, or to be beaten for being frightened.

ELLESMERE. The ways of wiſe government are almoſt univerſal in their application, from animals up to Caucaſians. There is a great deal, by the way, that you ſay for the quadrupeds which you did not for the bipeds, and that would do for both.

I paſs by the unkindneſs of Miſs Daylmer's ſmiling when you talked of animals not being beaten for being frightened. I know ſhe was thinking of my ride home from —— and of my exploits with that mare.

MILVERTON. My wiſh to ſee an opportunity of ſelf-development extends to animals. I am impatient at ſeeing an animal have no chance of coming to its beſt.

ELLESMERE. Mine does not "extend" to animals: it begins there, I don't know whether it goes on. Benevolence you know is not my forte.

DUNSFORD. Now, Elleſmere, do not make yourſelf out worſe than you are.

MILVERTON. Not ſeeing that the meaning of life is this development, is the capital blunder of men individually and one of the main defects of worldly wiſdom in all times. We err in this way to a frightful extent in England. Hence the mania for "getting on" at all coſt, for doing ſomething as they call it, not being ſomebody. Sir Humphrey Davy, and Monteſquieu before him, ſpoke of the climate of this country as the inevitable cauſe for reſtleſſneſs: but that is no reaſon why we ſhould depreciate repoſe, but rather the contrary. I do not complain however of this reſtleſſneſs, but of the notion that all activity muſt move in certain grooves to be owned as ſucceſsful and reſpectable. It all ariſes from the ſame theory, that ſelf-development, or even the development of others, is not the end of life, but the getting or doing ſomething which can be weighed, meaſured, ticketed, and in ſome way proved to the world. Moſtly, too, it muſt be ſucceſs for one's ſelf to pleaſe the world.

ELLESMERE. I agree with you in the main, at leaſt as much as I ever agree with any moralizing man. You did not expect I ſhould.

DUNSFORD. Well, we have all been very much of the ſame mind throughout the converſation. I think we muſt be right.

Ellesmere. There are only four of us: it certainly is poſſible that we may all agree and be right. But I muſt leave you, for I have promiſed myſelf to mount that Broad Stone of Honour (Ehrenbreitſtein) which is towering up behind us. How people contrive to get up theſe heights (which are hard enough to walk up at one's leiſure) under a heavy fire, I don't know. I ſuppoſe though it is only under a heavy fire that ſuch ſteep places are mounted with alacrity. Ah, mankind are ſtrange creatures. Danger lightens toil; and the idea of being the attacking party carries men over the loftieſt impediments, and is, indeed, as great a leveller as Death itſelf.

And now having made an aphoriſm ſuch as Milverton delights in, I will walk up the hill with it as a companion, for I ſhall get no other. I ſee, you all ſhrink from the enterpriſe.

CHAPTER V.

My readers may readily imagine, that coming to Germany at this revolutionary period, Milverton, Ellesmere and myself had many discussions upon the events that were passing around us. I shall not trouble the reader with conversations, much of which was necessarily of fleeting interest; but I shall give an outline of our general opinions, which I cannot introduce better than by the following anecdote which I once heard Milverton tell. Being in a committee upon some business in regard to which a particular danger was foreseen and great pains taken to obviate it, on the breaking up of the committee one day, a shrewd old man, versed in the affairs of the world, as he put his arm into Milverton's to walk away, quietly observed to him "This danger that all of us "foresee so clearly will not happen. Nothing "does that we foresee."

So as regards this general state of revolution amongst the European powers, I am very doubtful whether the evils that are now so clearly seen

to be impending from it will ever come to paſs; and it will probably take ſome turn which we none of us foreſee, but which future hiſtorians will write about juſt as if many of us had had the exact reſult always in our thoughts. Milverton and Elleſmere are very much diſguſted and not a little diſheartened with the preſent ſtate of affairs. It is natural they ſhould be ſo. They have a particular diſlike to the claſs of men who have riſen into power in the courſe of theſe revolutions. Milverton comments with quiet diſdain upon the wordy rulers of the day, and their iſſuing edicts upon the ſettlement of all human affairs, public and private, with a rapidity and want of thought which, as he ſays, would be ſhameful if applied to the regulations of a kennel of hounds; but feeling aſſured of the tranſitory nature of ſuch men's power, he merely thanks God that they muſt ſoon paſs away, and does not trouble himſelf much more about them. Elleſmere, with the fierce contempt belonging to him, vows that theſe men of glittering words, falſe axioms, inappropriate antitheſes, and general inflation of mind, are among the worſt ſpecimens of human beings that have ever come upon the earth; and that he is ſure if I were to look into the Revelations I

ſhould find them under the head of ſome great beaſt. Now though I have not ſeen ſo much of the world as theſe younger men, I have lived through a great many more events than they have, and am therefore much more cautious in coming to any concluſion on the preſent aſpect of affairs than they are, and, I think, am inclined to look upon it with leſs deſpondency than they do.

As a minor inſtance, by the way, of our difficulty of foreſeeing anything, I may mention the cauſe of our next journey, which I am ſure will be as unexpected by my readers as it was by myſelf. We had intended to ſtay ſome little time at Coblentz, but we left it on account of a reminiſcence of tender ſentiment and affection on the part of Elleſmere.

I had noticed for a day or two that he was extremely grave and ſilent, and this was the more remarkable in him, as he is one of thoſe men of a dry kind of demeanour which never varies much. I mentioned this to Milverton who had alſo obſerved it, and had moreover diſcerned the cauſe. Some two or three years ago a little boy who lived with Elleſmere, and who as Milverton ſays was the only creature he ever loved, died ſuddenly. It was his ſiſter's ſon (a ſiſter who

lived in India). Milverton ſaid that Elleſmere doted on the boy and had ſpoken of him more than once in theſe words, "He was all that I had "ever wiſhed to be;" which Milverton ſaid was probably the caſe, as the child had the bold frank ways of Elleſmere, with a tenderneſs quite unknown in his character—often viſible in thoſe who are to die young.

It unfortunately happened that there was a little boy about the inn where we were ſtaying who was very like the boy that Elleſmere had loſt. Milverton perceived this at once and had hoped that Elleſmere would not do ſo. He was miſtaken, however, for Elleſmere was always looking at the child, ſeeking opportunities to talk to it, and though he ſaid not a word about the matter, was evidently full of ſad recollections.

I therefore expreſſed great deſire to go on to Trèves, which my friends aſſented to, and we ſet off immediately, taking the route by land through Polch and Kaiſerſeſch, intending to return by the Moſelle. Trèves, as is well known, contains the moſt remarkable monuments of Roman antiquity of any town in the north of Europe. It was this which gave it eſpecial intereſt in our eyes.

We arrived in the evening and had the good

fortune to ſee, by moonlight, as we entered, that ſtupendous relic of an unknown age, the "Porta "Nigra."

Next morning we began our ſurvey of the town, intending to find out the amphitheatre and to have our laſt reading there. We made our way firſt to Conſtantine's palace, at leaſt to what remains of it, which did not leſſen our reſpect for the maſſive grandeur of Roman antiquities impreſſed upon us the preceding evening. From thence we went to the Roman baths, and it was pleaſant to think that there were ſome remains of that great people which might be looked upon without any drawback of pity or ſorrow, genuine monuments of civilization.

Then walking onwards for about half a mile, after mounting ſome vine-covered hills, we came ſuddenly upon an excavated ſpace of an oval ſhape which we knew at once to be the amphitheatre we had been looking for. After pauſing a minute or two, we deſcended by a gentle declivity into the excavation. It was with ſomewhat of a cold ſhudder that I entered, and I noticed that Lucy turned very pale. All round the baſement of the amphitheatre was a little trench about two feet in depth into which tor-

rents of blood muſt have flowed. We traced out what we ſuppoſed to have been the dens of wild beaſts, the vomitories, the emperor's private entrance communicating by a long gallery with the palace, the tiers of benches for the ſpectators, and the ſteps down which the gladiators muſt have deſcended to enter the arena. It was all covered now with graſs: a ſolitary lizard was the only live thing we ſaw while we were there.

As Milverton was deſcending the ſteps by which the gladiators muſt have entered, he exclaimed, "Good God, with what feelings men muſt have "walked down theſe ſteps, ſome of them perhaps "thinking, as I do now, that ſome ſignal divine "interpoſition might almoſt be expected to put "an end to ſuch enormities."

Ellesmere. I ſee the Chriſtian Conſtantine had what he called Frankiſh games here (Ludi Francici) in which one thouſand human beings at a time have been expoſed to wild beaſts.

Milverton. Surely theſe are the moſt coloſſal undertakings of wickedneſs that have ever been. Is there any proteſt, Dunsford, in any Roman author againſt theſe things? I do not mean ſuch a proteſt as we, ſoftened and refined by Chriſtianity, ſhould make, but anything which ſhould lead you to think that anybody then

had the ideas which we now ſuppoſe to belong to natural religion and common humanity.

DUNSFORD. Nothing of the kind occurs to me.

MILVERTON. In contemplating theſe paſt horrors I think of their irrevocability. That which Horace ſays of paſt joy occurs to me of paſt ſorrow; it is as if nothing would waſh it out.

"Cras vel atrâ
"Nube polum Pater occupato,
"Vel ſole puro: non tamen irritum,
"Quodcunque retro eſt, efficiet; neque
"Diffinget, infectumque reddet,
"Quod fugiens ſemel hora vexit."

Or, as Dryden ſays, excelling the original, I think, in expreſſion,

"Be fair, or foul, or rain, or ſhine,
"The joys I have poſſeſſed, in ſpite of fate are mine,
"Not Heaven itſelf upon the paſt has power;
"But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour."

ELLESMERE. You muſt have the ſelf-ſame feeling then over moſt of the events in hiſtory.

MILVERTON. Yes: you ſee, as regards the preſent generation you contemplate their diſtreſſes as you do thoſe of a hero of fiction which may be abundantly made up for in the end; but I do not very well ſee what comfort you are to find in conſidering the fate of thoſe Franks or Thracians or Dacians who marched down theſe ſteps to be torn to pieces by wild beaſts.

ELLESMERE. Let us have the eſſay read. It cannot be more ſaddening than ſuch talk as this, and there could not be a more fit place to read it in than here where ſlavery reached its direſt conſummation.

When we had taken our ſeats near the ſpot where we conjectured the emperor muſt have ſat, Milverton read to us the following ſection of his eſſay on ſlavery.

6. THAT SLAVERY CAN BE DONE AWAY.

SOME way has been made in proving this propoſition in the chapter on the needleſſneſs of ſlavery: but more remains. If doing away ſlavery were now an unheard-of thing, the firſt experiment might be ſomewhat fearful, like the firſt experiment in ſailing. "There are many tremendous "things," ſays the poet, "but nothing ſo tre-"mendous as man, who goes beyond the white "ſea with the wintry ſouth wind, traverſing the "waves howling around him." Men have got over theſe terrors; and the ſea, could it retain a keel-mark, would by this time be a beaten highway. The world, too, has grown old in the work of emancipation. There were the Greeks, having varieties of ſlavery amongſt them, with

captives taken by the ſpear, and men bought with gold; with a merciful domeſtic ſlavery, rarely changed for freedom, as amongſt the Athenians, and a fierce tyranny exerciſed over ſlaves chiefly bound to the ſoil, as amongſt the Lacedæmonians. Where are the maſters, where the ſlaves? Then came the Romans, with armies of ſlaves of all nations. Theſe nations are the maſters now. Then mediæval ſerfdom, apparently a very rigid ſyſtem. The other emancipations may be traced to violent changes; but this ſerfdom gradually crumbled away.

Had a maſter, in any one of the above dynaſties, been told that the ſlavery he ſaw was to vaniſh away, he would have ſincerely thought that the world would come to an end then; that, indeed, there was no living without the exact ſyſtem before him. Placing ourſelves in the poſition of ſuch a maſter, or of a modern ſlave-owner, we may ſee how he will honeſtly believe it abſurd and hopeleſs to change the preſent ſtate of things. What is to become, he exclaims, of the ſlaves, what of the maſters, what of ſociety? And, indeed, there is an impoſſibility about every great undertaking until it is done — or rather, until it is begun.

The modern ſlave-owners will ſay that none of theſe ancient caſes apply, as the numerical difference between the dominant race and the ſlaves was never ſo great as it is now. But there are the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands. As far as the queſtion of population goes, emancipation would ſeem to have been a more difficult matter in theſe iſlands than it would be, for inſtance, in the American States. The population in Jamaica is ſhort of 400,000, "of which more than 300,000 "are negroes, about 30,000 whites, and perhaps "50,000 of mixed race."* Now turning to the firſt American ſtate I happen to think of, Virginia, the total population is 1,211,405; the ſlaves are 469,757, not near half; and the free people of colour are 47,348.† Then take Georgia, the population is 516,823; the ſlaves are 217,531, again not half; and the free people of colour are 2,486.‡ As far then as the relative numbers of ſlaves and free men are concerned, there appears to be no peculiar difficulty in emancipation in theſe ſtates. If we extend this argument to

---

* See America and the Weſt Indies, by *Profeſſor Long*, *G. R. Porter*, *G. Tucker*, *W. Wittich*, *etc.* p. 58.

† Ibid. p. 286. ‡ Ibid. p. 297.

the whole continent of America, it holds good. "The numbers are ſuppoſed to be nearly as fol-"low:*"

Europeans, and deſcendants of Europeans	26,000,000
Aborigines	9,000,000
Negroes	6,000,000
Mixed races	7,000,000

But again, the advocate for the continuance of American Slavery may ſay, the caſes are not parallel, the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands are colonies, far-off colonies; our ſlave ſtates are integral parts of the empire. This fact tells both ways: it might fairly be argued that the Britiſh could venture leſs to diminiſh any reſtraint in dealing with a colony, than with a part of their home-dominions. If the ſame advocate ſhould ſay that the American people, the white people I mean, are leſs ripe for negro emancipation than the Engliſh were, that they have prejudices about colours which the Engliſh are free from, that may be readily granted. It may alſo be at once admitted in comparing modern with ancient ſlavery, that emancipation is much more difficult when the

* Ibid. p. 9.

races are very different in appearance. And if the ſame advocate proceed to ſay that emancipation came on ſoftly in old times, becauſe it was not planned, but proceeded inſenſibly with the progreſs of other events,—that, too, muſt in great meaſure be conceded. I ſuſpect, however, that the greateſt difficulty which his clients could allege is one againſt the evil effects of which it is moſt in their power to provide, namely the much larger proportion of ſlave-owners to the reſt of the white men in their country than in England, or in ancient States, and in the much greater political power of theſe ſlave-owners.

On the other hand, there are ſome advantages which the cauſe of emancipation will have in America. If we have committed any error in the mode of emancipation, they will be able to profit by it. Their land-owners are reſident: their land is more occupied than the Britiſh Weſt Indies was at the time of Emancipation: their command of labour is likely to be greater than ours has been.

I do not, however, ſay that emancipation is not attended with ſome peculiar difficulties in modern times, and that America has not her ſhare of them. Indeed the preſent ſtate of the

American people affords a great inſtance of the doctrine of compenſation. With abundant phyſical reſources, enjoying the reſults of the paſt labour and preſent leiſure of a more advanced nation, it might ſeem that they had nothing to work out for themſelves. Yet in this matter of ſlavery, there remains, I think, a greater work to be done by them, than the Engliſh have ever had occaſion to attempt. I am not depreciating the labours of our own people. Their conduct as regards ſlavery is one of the beſt things that hiſtory has to tell of them: nor is their ardour I truſt in any way deadened. Smollett ſays of one of his heroes, that "if the eternal ſalvation of "mankind could have been bought by one tenth "of his poſſeſſions, he would have left the whole "ſpecies in a ſtate of reprobation, not willing to "pay that price for them unleſs he could ſee in "the bargain ſome eſpecial advantage to his own "concerns." But in contraſt to this amiable character, there are, I do believe, numbers of perſons in England, who, if convinced that any ſacrifice of worldly goods would enſure the abolition of ſlavery in any ſmall province, would throw down all their poſſeſſions for this end, and commence their ſtruggle in the world again.

And, as a nation, we may fairly ſay that we have often devoted our arms, diplomacy and finance to forward a cauſe, the humanity of which is its only charm in our eyes. Our efforts may at times have been miſdirected — at times too we may have been enthuſiaſtic when we ſhould have been earneſt — folly and fanaticiſm may have hung upon the wheels of this national effort—as on what great cauſe have they not? ſtill the popular feeling on this ſubject in England has been ſo deep and ſincere that even the worldly ſtateſman has been obliged to incline to it, and the philanthropiſt of whatever nation cannot but have approved of it. But, as I have ſaid before, our proceedings in the matter are but light, compared to what the Americans will have to undertake—which indeed they have begun to undertake. There has been nothing to obſtruct the full action of our pity. We have had no antipathies to conquer: with us the queſtion was not one of terror and civil diſcord. We do not live with coloured people; and have not been brought up from infancy to believe them an inferior race. Our feeling for the African race, is like that which we have for the ſorrows and ſtruggles of ſome great man or people we read of in hiſtory.

Had we lived with them, we, too, might have wronged them like the reſt. We are far enough off now to think lovingly and wiſely in this matter. Many of the white Americans are not. And as their taſk is greater, ſo may be their triumph. The cauſe requires from them as from us prudent zeal, reſolute watchfulneſs and maſterly conduct: moreover it muſt have from them, what happily it needed not from us, a conqueſt over a much-cheriſhed pride and the reverſal of an early and deeply-ingrained prejudice.

Abolition of ſlavery was a hard thing with us, and will be harder with the Americans; but to throw one's ſelf lazily back and ſay the thing is impoſſible, is as weak as it is untrue. Impoſſibilities recede as experience advances; and men walk quietly over many well-tilled fields which, in the childhood of their thought, were deſerts or moraſſes, peopled with fabulous animals—the ends of the earth.

The above arguments have been mainly addreſſed to America, where emancipation will be moſt difficult. Nobody doubts that France with a ſlave population in her colonies under 300,000 can emancipate them without much difficulty;

indeed ſhe is ſteadily advancing in that direction.* In Brazil the free population is nearly equal to the ſlave; and in Cuba the ſlaves are calculated at one third of the whole population. Moreover in the dominant races of the latter countries, there is a more kindly feeling, I imagine, towards men of a dark ſhade of ſkin than there is amongſt the Anglo-Saxons of North America; which feeling muſt give additional facility for emancipation.

As regards the negroes themſelves, the poſſibility of their emancipation, that is, the poſſibility of its happening without any harm whatever to them, has been amply conſidered when diſcuſſing the queſtion of their race and nature. They will work upon the motives that make other men work. The laws of ſupply and demand, or any other apparatus of political economy, will be found to act upon black as upon white nature. Nay even the finer humours by which we are touched will reſtrain or ſtimulate their exertion. There is an inſtance ſo curiouſly illuſtrating this, that though it is merely an individual inſtance, it

* Since the above was written, France has aboliſhed ſlavery in her dominions.

deſerves to be quoted. Two or three years ago the manager of a certain plantation in Martinique, ſuſpecting that ſome of the cattle on the eſtate had been poiſoned by the ſlaves, abridged them all of the uſual time allowed for their private work, and even took away ſome of the hours commonly allotted for reſt and ſleep. New year's day came, a holiday always impatiently expected by the negro, but on this occaſion, the negroes on this eſtate reſolved to work the whole day; they felt themſelves aggrieved by the treatment they had for ſome time received, and they would have no holiday: not even threats availed to drive them away; they worked till night and returned the next morning as uſual to their work, without any words about it.* Now, put the feeling of theſe negroes as low as it can be, ſay it

* A midi, le commandeur eſt venu rendre compte au géreur que les nègres travaillaient toujours, et ne voulaient pas rentrer dans leurs caſes, pour y prendre un peu de repos; le géreur ſ'eſt tranſporté ſur les lieux, leur a intimé l'ordre, à deux repriſes différentes, de ſe retirer; ils ſ'y ſont formellement refuſés, il les a menacés d'employer la force (la gendarmerie), ils ont tous répondu: "envoyez-la chercher," et ſans ſe deranger, ils ont continué à travailler jusqu'à la nuit; à la nuit, ils ſont rentrés comme à l'habitude, et ce matin ils ſont retournés aux champs ſans mot dire.

is mere humour, the men who can work throughout their feſtal day for ſuch humours, will work to feed their wives and children.

The impoſſibility of doing away with ſlavery is an impoſſibility for thoſe alone who chooſe to make it ſo.

It is not neceſſary to my purpoſe to ſhow how ſlavery might be done away; but I may mention that if it were, I ſhould certainly not pretend to put forward any ſimple definite plan which ſhould claim the nature of a ſpecific.

Men delight in neat ſyſtems and in reducing all human affairs into groups of facts, which may be dealt with according to certain fixed rules. This is at all times rather pedantic; but in dealing with dead things, ſuch as hiſtory for inſtance, it is perhaps excuſable, and it is poſſible, becauſe you have the facts before you, if not complete, at leaſt no longer alterable. Moreover, a great many of the irreducible facts have dropped out, and thoſe that remain adverſe to your ſyſtem may be omitted.

But I ſuſpect that if a moral remedy can be put into a ſyſtem, it is ſmall: it is then a thing which can be contained, not which forms. More-

over ſuch a large affair as ſlavery, having its roots in all parts of the earth and in the mind of man, is very different from a ſet of hiſtorical phenomena which can be arranged and ſyſtematized to any extent.

Throughout theſe eſſays I have chiefly ſought to influence opinion on the general ſubject of ſlavery, conſidering that ſuch opinion muſt rule the ultimate iſſues of the matter. The criſis will come perhaps in a way that no one can foreſee. You cannot manufacture criſes; but you can prepare for them. As regards ſlavery, who can venture to foretell which way it will go? But I am perſuaded there are certain conſiderations which if tranſlated into practical life, will render the way, whatever it is, eaſier; and whether ſlavery is to continue, whether it is to end by political convulſion, by foreign wars, or as I hope by gradual abolition (the maſters concurring), it is certainly a good thing that white men and dark men ſhould have leſs and leſs diſregard for each other: and therefore it is highly deſirable that queſtions concerning the two races ſhould be carefully conſidered, if thereby baſeleſs prejudices may be removed.

If we look back at hiſtory, how was the ſlavery

we are contending againſt firſt oppoſed? Who was its great opponent? The Church. Such men as Antonio Monteſino, Las Caſas, Vieyra, found in their religious opinions ſomething which would not let them be at peace with the exiſting ſyſtem of ſlavery. Sincere opinion muſt grow into action.

I do not mean to ſay that there are not many rules, ſuggeſtions and plans which might be offered with regard to the abolition of ſlavery; but merely that it is not wiſe to look to any one quarter for a remedy, or to ſuppoſe that there is any one remedy which will ſuit ſo multifarious an evil.

Some of thoſe, however, who are immediately connected with ſlavery, may deſire preciſe inſtructions as to what they are to attempt. It appears to me that if a perſon who had much conſidered any great ſubject, like this of ſlavery, were addreſſed by others who ſhould ſay to him, We agree with you: this is an evil: and we are ready to aſſiſt in removing it. Can you tell us what we are to do? He would reply by ſaying, Who are you? Tell me what function you at preſent have in connection with this matter; and I may then hazard an opinion as to what you

might do; at any rate I can tell you what I would do if I were in your place: but be ſure that there is a great deal which you will find out better how to do in dealing with the details which are your own, than I or any one not in the ſame poſition as you can ſuggeſt. Duty can ſeldom be made eaſy—even to diſcover. There is no little bottle of oil which poured upon the ſea of human affairs will ſtill the waves immediately; and the man who tells you he has ſuch a thing, is to be avoided as a vender of quack medicines. Moreover, you muſt not expect more from books than they can give you. Wiſe conduct in any matter is not like what we uſed to call at college "book "work," but is a difficult problem, which book-knowledge, however, may greatly aſſiſt you in working out.

Having now declared that I have no ſpecific remedy for ſlavery, and moreover intimated that I do not believe in the exiſtence of any ſuch thing, I may add that if I had to addreſs ſome of the parties in whoſe hands the queſtion of dealing with ſlavery lies, I ſhould ſpeak to them in the following manner.

In addreſſing a Britiſh miniſter, I ſhould ſay I have not come to any concluſion about the policy

of continuing our cruizers on the coaſt of Africa; I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion on that difficult ſubject; but I am quite certain that much good might be done by means of diplomacy with the ſtates who are now the moſt concerned in ſlavery. I ſhould remind him of Burke's opinion, who ſaid "He was convinced the true "origin of the Slave Trade was not in the place "it began at, but in the place of final deſtina-"tion." I ſhould tell him that by means of diplomacy he might further one of the moſt feaſible ſchemes for diminiſhing the force of ſlavery; namely, by perſuading the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Brazilian governments, to inſiſt upon ſuch a regiſtration of ſlaves as would ſhow whence they came from, and tend to prevent any addition being made to the number of ſlaves by means of the Slave Trade. The plan of calling upon the maſter to prove the legitimate ſlavery of his ſlaves has been ſuggeſted in modern times by one of ourſelves,* and inſiſted upon by the Spaniſh government three hundred years ago, when laudably endeavouring to legiſlate with humanity for the Indians. As ſtateſmen and men of buſineſs

* See Mr. *Turnbull's* "*Cuba*," c. 17, which well deſerves the attention of all perſons who care about the ſubject.

are fond of accuracy, it will be adviſable to give the very words. "And with regard to "the ſlaves made in war, if the poſſeſſor ſhould "not prove that the Indian, whom he has as a "ſlave, was taken in juſt war, and that the orders "and forms appointed by the king have been "kept and fulfilled, he ſhall be pronounced free, "although nothing can be proved by the Indian "himſelf, ſo that the proof ſhall lie upon the "owner and not upon the Indian (*de tal manera "que la probanza ſe cargaſſe al poſſeedor, y no al "Indio*) and although he ſhall have been branded "with the iron, and the owner ſhall have bills of "ſale or other documents of title."* The introduction of ſuch a principle as that contained in the foregoing ordinance, would no doubt be moſt ſerviceable in mitigating and reſtraining ſlavery.

To the Portugueſe government our miniſter might addreſs himſelf, not as if he were ſuggeſting to them for the firſt time reaſons of humanity and policy for putting down ſlavery, but only as improving upon and furthering the means which have already been ſubmitted to the Queen of Portugal by her own Government.†

---

* *Herrera*, Hiſt. de las Indias, dec. 8, lib. 5, cap. 5.

† "The glory of continuing the great undertaking commenced

With the Brazilians our miniſter might make the carrying of this project of regiſtration a matter of diſtinct treaty; and, amongſt the arguments with which he might ply that government, he might ſuggeſt to them that they would do wiſely to make their polity with regard to ſlaves different from that of the Southern States of North America, ſo that ſervile inſurrection, if it ever takes place in thoſe ſtates, may not ſpread to them; and that their ſecurity with regard to their own ſlaves may make them more able to repel any attack.

" by King John the Second, was reſerved for your Majeſty. The " civilization of Africa, of which ſo many powerful nations have " deſpaired, is more feaſible to the Queen of Portugal, who holds " in her hands the key of the principal gates at which it can en- " ter, and whoſe authority is obeyed in various parts of that vaſt " continent, at diſtances of more than two hundred leagues from " the ſea; and as it was poſſible for the former ſovereigns of Por- " tugal to open roads for civilization, a ſtep which no other prince " had ventured upon, ſo it will be poſſible to make that beneficial " plant thrive and flouriſh in thoſe regions.

" As an indiſpenſable preliminary to any meaſures which, for " this great purpoſe, your Majeſty in accordance with the Gene- " ral Cortes, may take, your Secretaries of State have the honour " to propoſe the following project of a decree for the entire and " complete abolition of the ſlave trade in your dominions."

Foreign Office. (Signed by all the Miniſters.)
December 10th, 1836.

See *Portugueſe Poſſeſſions in S. W. Africa*, vol. i. p. 22 of Introduction.

If I had now to addreſs an American planter, perhaps a more important perſon in the matter than any Britiſh miniſter, and he were to tell me that he ſincerely deſired to remedy the preſent evils of ſlavery, I ſhould ſay to him that he might begin by improving the condition of his own ſlaves. Let him fix ſhorter times of labour for them; and provide them with good medical advice, good habitations and ſufficient diet. Let him give his negroes ſomething to diſpoſe of in their extra-time, buying their ſervices at "hurrying "time" by piecework. Let him keep accounts to ſhow that humanity anſwers economically. Let him introduce free labour wherever he can. If the reading and writing part of the education of negroes is jealouſly forbidden, at leaſt let him have them inſtructed in ſome manual arts. Whenever you make them do anything that free men do, even if it be but to play at games, you tend to make them more civilized beings and to break through the prejudice of ſkin. If the planter has a ſeat in the Aſſembly of his State, he may ſurely introduce meaſures for the perſonal protection of the negro, who ſeems at preſent to be worſe off in this reſpect than the Roman ſlave was. This

planter will have great weight if his eſtate is known to thrive, his negroes rarely to run away, to live longer, and to work more effectively than thoſe of his neighbours. Gradually he might attempt bolder things. He will probably find more ſupport than he has anticipated. In every ſyſtem of things, hard and ſolid as it ſeems, there are ſecret doubters and diſſentients. In the moſt Papal times, here and there were people who thought for themſelves in Church matters; ſo in ſlave ſtates, there may be ſeveral perſons who if they heard doctrines about the treatment of their ſlaves contrary to the received practice (thoſe doctrines being propounded by one of themſelves) might give them a favorable hearing. He might venture to argue in the Aſſembly in favour of education for the negroes, and if ſo might aſk his brother planters what they get now by not allowing education. Poſſibly as a temporary means of police it is not unwiſe. Still for the future what is it? The higheſt it aims at is the *ſtatus quo*. But is there not danger in the exact equality of knowledge and condition amongſt a ſervile population? What any one wiſhing well to America would deſire, would be to raiſe up a claſs in the ſlave ſtates between the maſter and the ſlave. There-

fore for that end it is not desirable to scout free blacks from a slave state or to check education amongst slaves.

It is hardly for me to suggest what further efforts in behalf of negro emancipation the individual planter might make in the Assembly to which I suppose him to belong; but in all that he does I would have him turn his thoughts from "the "ignorant present" and consider what are likely to be the changes in condition of the population whose welfare he is anxious for. That some change is necessary he has already agreed with me in thinking.

The present slavery in the southern states of America might end in some such state of things as that in India, where the great bulk of the people have an interest in the soil, but are bound to pay rent, and are governed by officers of the dominant race scattered here and there. True it is, that in the case of India, the government is the landlord, but there being an identity of interest amongst the individual landlords in the slave states of America makes the general body resemble a government. The objection to this scheme is the want of capital for the labourers. Still there are not wanting analagous cases where a similar diffi-

culty has been met, as may be ſeen in works on the nature of rent.

I confeſs myſelf I have no expectation of the above being the courſe things will take; but ſhould rather look forward (if it is to be a peaceable tranſition) to that happening which has happened before in many ſtates, namely a gradual development of claſſes with different occupations, purpoſes and powers, ſpringing from the great and at preſent unformed maſſes of the people. In this way lies the greateſt chance to ſecure freedom and civilization; and if the planter I am ſpeaking to is aware of this, he will be conſtantly aiming at producing differences of poſition and education, in thoſe under him, in order to provide the means of future ſecurity and improvement.

It is with ſuch a view as this that I ſhould aſk him to come cloſer to me, that I might ſay in a whiſper (as it might ſcandalize him leſs than if I were to ſay it aloud) that if I were he, I would ſeek to ally myſelf with thoſe who had in their veins ſome of the blood of the race which forms ſo large a part of the inhabitants of the country. All wiſe conquerors (Romans, Normans, Spaniards) have done what they could to produce ties, not to ſhun them, with the ſubject race. I know well the ob-

jections that would be taken in the particular case here considered: but surely in those instances where such objections do not hold good, where the individual of what is called the inferior race is manifestly not an inferior individual, and where the obstacle to intermarriage would be only one of race; then the great rule, that the dominant race would be wise in allying themselves with the subject race, applies and should prevail.

Lastly, I should beg him to keep a well-balanced mind between hoping too much from his individual efforts, and on the other hand being too easily dejected by the failure or incomplete attainment of his wishes. Let him say to himself, as I do now, It may not be given to any one man to do much in a great matter like this of slavery; but doing some little of what he can, he may feel thankful that the final issues of it are in the hands of a Power with whom "A thousand years are "but as yesterday," and who has never denied the name of "His children" to any portion of the human race.

After Milverton had ceaſed reading we were ſilent for a time. Knowing that he had been long employed upon this ſubject of ſlavery, and having myſelf been often conſulted by him upon various points connected with it, I felt as though we were both loſing an old friend in coming to the concluſion of this ſeries of eſſays. I breathed a ſilent prayer for the ſucceſs of any good thought or ſuggeſtion there might be in the work. At length Elleſmere broke the ſilence.

ELLESMERE. You are quite right, Milverton, in not pretending to give a ſpecific remedy for ſlavery: indeed it is ſo ſenſible in you not to have attempted anything of the ſort, that I am quite ſure you muſt have borrowed the idea from me (I dare ſay unconſciouſly); and if every philanthropical writer of books had a ſhrewd worldly man at his elbow, and liſtened to him occaſionally, a great deal of human miſery would be prevented. Be thankful that you are furniſhed with ſuch a uſeful commodity.

LUCY. I am ſure we muſt all be very thankful to Mr. Elleſmere, conſidering the follies he preſerves us from: he does not ſuffer us to be long in his debt though, without reminding us how much we are indebted to him.

DUNSFORD. I hope we ſhall have ſome more eſſays from you this next ſummer, Milverton.

MILVERTON. I hope not. But I ſhall be delighted

00097150

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016